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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.

FROM  
THE REVOLUTION  
TO  
THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

*(Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.)*

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

VOL. VII.

BASIL:

Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.  
MDCCXCIII.

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OF  
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BOOK III.

CHAPTER IX.

§ I. Expedition against Senegal. II. Fort Louis and Senegal taken. III. Unsuccessful attempt upon Goree. IV. Expedition to Cape Breton. V. Louisbourg taken. VI. And St. John's. VII. Unsuccessful attempt upon Ticonderoga. VIII. Fort Frontenac taken and destroyed by the English. IX. Brigadier Forbes takes Fort du Quesne. X. Goree taken. XI. Shipwreck of Capt. Barton. XII. Gallant exploit of Captain Tyrrel. XIII. Transactions in the East-Indies. Adm. Pococke engages the French fleet. XIV. Fort St. David's taken by the French. Second engagement between Adm. Pococke and M. d'Apché. XV. Progress of M. Lally. XVI. Transactions on the continent of Europe. XVII. King of Prussia raises contributions in Saxony, and  
VOL. VII. B



## 2 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

*the dominions of the Duke of Wirtemberg. XVIII. State of the armies on the continent. XIX. French King changes the administration of Hanover. XX. Plan of a treaty between the French King and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. XXI. Treaty between the French King and the Duke of Brunswick. XXII. Decree of the Aulic council against the Elector of Hanover and others. XXIII. Bremen taken by the Duke de Broglie, and retaken by Prince Ferdinand. XXIV. Duke de Richelieu recalled. Generous conduct of the Duke de Randan. XXV. The French abandon Hanover. Prince of Brunswick reduces Hoya and Minden. XXVI. Prince Ferdinand defeats the French at Creveldt, and takes Dusseldorp. XXVII. Prince of Ysenburgh defeated by the Duke de Broglie. XXVIII. Gen. Imhoff defeats M. de Chevert. XXIX. General Oberg defeated by the French at Landwernhagen. XXX. Death of the Duke of Marlborough. XXXI. Operations of the King of Prussia at the beginning of the campaign. XXXII. He enters Moravia, and invests Olmutz. XXXIII. He is obliged to raise the siege, and retires into Bohemia, where he takes Kœnigsrätz. XXXIV. Progress of the Russians. XXXV. King of Prussia defeats the Russians at Zorndorf. XXXVI. And is defeated by the Austrians at Hochkirchen. XXXVII. He retires to Silesia. XXXVIII. Suburbs of Dresden burnt by the Prussian governor. XXXIX. King of Prussia raises the siege of Neiss, and relieves Dresden. XL. Inhabitants of Saxony grievously oppressed. XLI. Progress of the Swedes in Pomerania. XLII. Prince Charles of Saxony elected Duke of Courland. XLIII. King of England's memorial to the diet of the Empire.*



XLIV. *Death of Pope Benedict.* XLV. *King of Portugal assassinated.* XLVI. *Proceedings of the French ministry.* XLVII. *Conduct of the King of Denmark.* XLVIII. *Answers to the charges brought by the Dutch against the English cruisers.* XLIX. *Conferences between the British ambassador and the States-General.* L. *Further proceedings.*

§ I. **T**HE whole strength of Great-Britain during this campaign was not exhausted in petty descents upon the coast of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigor was displayed; nor did she fail to exert herself in successful efforts against the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The whole gum-trade, from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort-Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three hundred leagues up that river, and on the same coast had fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This consideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possession of Great-Britain. The project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a sensible

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



## 4 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK  
III.  
1758.

Quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coast, and contracted a personal acquaintance with Amir, the Moorish King of Legibelli<sup>1</sup>. He found this African prince extremely well disposed towards the subjects of Great-Britain, whom he publicly preferred to all other Europeans, and so exasperated against the French, that he declared he should never be easy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hostilities against them, and earnestly desired that the King of England would send out an armament to reduce Fort-Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders. In that case, he promised to join his Britannic Majesty's forces, and grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. Mr. Cumming, not only perceived the advantages that would result from such an exclusive privilege with regard to the gum, but foresaw many other important consequences of an extensive trade in a country, which, over and above the gum-senega, contains many valuable articles, such as gold-dust, elephants-teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, slaves, ostrich-feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Elevated with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, this honest Quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his inquiries touching the commerce of the coast, as well as the strength and situation of the French settlements on

<sup>1</sup> The names the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of The Gum-Coast, and called in maps The Sandy Desert of Sara, and sometimes Zara.



the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort-Louis. This was presented to the board of trade, by whom it was approved, after a severe examination; but it required the patriotic zeal and invincible perseverance of Cumming to surmount a variety of obstacles before it was adopted by the ministry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ship, and in lieu of six hundred land-forces, to be drafted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, first from the Duke of Cumberland, and afterwards from Lord Ligonier, the lords of the Admiralty allotted two hundred marines only for this service. After repeated solicitation he, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, obtained an order, that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guinea should be joined by a sloop and two buffes, and make an attempt upon the French settlement in the river Senegal. These ships, however, were detained by contrary winds until the season was too far advanced to admit a probability of success, and therefore the design was postponed. In the beginning of the present year, Mr. Cumming being re-enforced with the interest of a considerable merchant in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the ministry, and they resolved to hazard the enterprize. A small squadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of Captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by Major Mason,

C H A P.

IX.

1758.



## 6 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK

III.

1758.

with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition<sup>2</sup>. This little armament sailed in the beginning of March; and in their passage touched at the island Teneriffe, where, while the ships supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming, proceeded in the Swan sloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country, who had favored him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal charter, written in the Arabic language. This prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable-Moors<sup>3</sup>;

<sup>2</sup> On this occasion Mr. Cumming may seem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profession; but he ever declared to the ministry that he was fully persuaded his schemes might be accomplished without the effusion of human blood; and that if he thought otherwise, he would by no means have concerned himself about them. He also desired, let the consequence be what it might, his brethren should not be chargeable with what was his own single act. — If it was the first military scheme of any Quaker, let it be remembered it was also the first successful expedition of this war, and one of the first that ever was carried on according to the pacific system of the Quakers, without the loss of a drop of blood on either side.

<sup>3</sup> This is the name by which the subjects of Legibelli distinguish those of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the River Senegal, and are in constant alliance with the French.



and the Queen-Dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, gave Mr. Cumming to understand, that she could not at present spare any troops to join the English in their expedition against Senegal: but she assured him, that should the French be exterminated, she and her subjects would go thither and settle. In the mean time, one of the chiefs, called Prince Amir, dispatched a messenger to the King, with advice of their arrival and design. He declared that he would, with all possible diligence, assemble three hundred warriors to join the English troops, and that, in his opinion, the King would re-enforce them with a detachment from his army. By this time Captain Marsh, with the rest of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick, and fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his design, resolved to proceed on the expedition, without waiting for the promised auxiliaries. On the twenty-second day of April he weighed anchor, and next day, at four o'clock, discovered the French flag flying upon Fort-Louis, situated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The Commodore having made prize of a Dutch ship richly laden with gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to anchor in Senegal-road, at the mouth of the river: and here he perceived several armed sloops which the enemy had detached to defend the passage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of one brig and

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



## 8 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK

III.

1758.

fix armed floops, mounted with great guns and swivels. At length, the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, Captain Millar, of the London-buffs, seized that opportunity; and passing the bar with a flowing sheet, dropped anchor on the inside, where he lay till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other small vessels, and a regular engagement ensued. This was warmly maintained on both sides, until the buffes and one dogger running a-ground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore, where they formed in a body, and were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels; so that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, besides the detachment of artillery. As they laid their account with being attacked by the natives, who lined the shore at some distance, seemingly determined to oppose the descent, they forthwith threw up an intrenchment, and began to disembark the stores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raising this occasional defence, the negroes came in great numbers and submitted; and on the succeeding day they were re-enforced by three hundred and fifty seamen, who passed the bar in floops, with their ensigns and colors flying.

§ II. They had made no further progress in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the intrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation



from the governor of Fort - Louis. After some hesitation, Captain Marsh and Major Mason agreed, That all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandise and uncoined treasure should be delivered up to the victors; and that all the forts, store-houses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation could be signed. They promised that the free natives living at Fort - Louis should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country\*. The Captains Campbell and Walker were immediately sent up the river with a flag of truce, to see the articles signed and executed; but they were so retarded by the rapidity of the stream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning. As soon as the day broke they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the island, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their approach. This reserve appearing

\* The victors, however, committed a very great mistake in allowing them to carry off their books and accounts, the perusal of which would have been of infinite service to the English merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper seasons, and methods of prosecuting the trade.



B O O K

III.

1758.

mysterious, they retired down the river to their intrenchment, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort - Louis, resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French director - general should be permitted to remain with the natives, as a surety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit. This request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort - Louis, accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked. The French seeing them advance immediately struck their flag; and Major Mason took possession of the castle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandise to a considerable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to his Britannic Majesty: the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, visited the commander, and concluded treaties with the English nation, and the King of Portenderic, or Legibelli, sent an ambassador from his camp to Major Mason, with presents, compliments of congratulation, and assurances of friendship. The number of free independent Negroes and Mulattoes settled at Senegal, amounted to three thousand, and many of these enjoyed slaves and possessions of their own. The two French factories of Podore and



Galam, the latter situated nine hundred miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; so that Great-Britain, almost without striking a blow, found herself possessed of a conquest, from which, with proper management, she may derive inconceivable riches. This important acquisition was in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to the sagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan, and solicited the armament, but also attended the execution of it in person, at the hazard of his life, and to the interruption of his private concerns.

§ III. Fort-Louis being secured with an English garrison, and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ships proceeded to make an attempt upon the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had considerable magazines and ware-houses, and lodged the negro-slaves until they could be shipped for the West-Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest of this island had been added to the armament, in all probability the island would have been reduced, and in that case, the nation would have saved the considerable expense of a subsequent expedition against it, under the conduct of Commodore Keppel. At present, the ships by which Goree was attacked were found unequal to the attempt, and the expedition miscarried accordingly, though the miscarriage was attended with little or no damage to the assailants.

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

§ IV. Scenes of still greater importance were acted in North-America, where, exclusive of the fleet and marines, the government had assembled about fifty thousand men, including two-and-twenty thousand regular troops. The Earl of Loudoun having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved on Major-General Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand were destined to undertake the siege of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape-Breton. The general himself reserved near sixteen thousand for the reduction of Crown-Point, a fort situated on lake Champlain: eight thousand, under the conduct of Brigadier-General Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort du Quesne, which stood a great way to the southward, near the river Ohio; and a considerable garrison was left at Annapolis, in Nova-Scotia. The reduction of Louisbourg and the island of Cape-Breton being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. Major-General Amherst being joined by Admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May, and on the second of June part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier Drucour, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia,



formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the siege they were re-enforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including threescore Indians. The harbour was secured by six ships of the line<sup>s</sup>, and five frigates, three of which the enemy sunk across the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and several bastions exposed in such a manner, as to be enfiladed by the besiegers, and no part of the town secure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by establishing a chain of posts that extended two leagues and a half along the most inaccessible parts of the beach: intrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected; but there were some intermediate places which could not be properly secured, and in one of these the English troops were disembarked. The disposition being made for landing, a detachment, in several sloops, under convoy, passed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing should really be effected on the other side of the town. On the eighth day of June, the troops being assembled in the boats before day-break, in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of

CHAP.

IX.

1758.

<sup>s</sup> The Prudent, of seventy-four guns; the Entreprenant, of seventy-four guns; the Capricieux, Célèbre, and Bienfaisant, of sixty-four guns each; the Apollo, of fifty guns; the Chevre, Biche, Fidelle, Diana, and Echo frigates.



BOOK

III.

1758.

Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the division on the left, were rowed towards the shore, under the command of Brigadier-General Wolfe, an accomplished officer, who, in the sequel, displayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius. At the same time the two other divisions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the Brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a show of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. Notwithstanding an impetuous surf, by which many boats were overset, and a very severe fire of cannon and musketry from the enemies batteries, which did considerable execution, Brigadier Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation. The soldiers leaped into the water with the most eager alacrity, and, gaining the shore, attacked the enemy in such a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmost confusion. The other divisions landed also, but not without an obstinate opposition; and the stores, with the artillery, being brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested. The difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege. Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection, securing his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacks of Canadians, of which he imagined there was a considerable body behind him on the island, as well as from the fire of the French shipping



in the harbour, which would otherwise have annoyed him extremely in his advances.

§ V. The governor of Louisbourg having destroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-posts prepared for making a vigorous defence. A very severe fire, well directed, was maintained against the besiegers and their works, from the town, the island-battery, and the ships in the harbour; and divers sallies were made, though without much effect. In the mean time Brigadier Wolfe, with a strong detachment, had marched round the north-east part of the harbour, and taken possession of the Light-house-point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island-fortification, which last was soon silenced. On the nineteenth day of June the *Echo*, a French frigate, was taken by the English cruisers, after having escaped from the harbour: from the officers on board of this ship the Admiral learned that the *Bizarre*, another frigate, had sailed from thence on the day of the disembarkation, and the *Comete* had successfully followed her example. Besides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inspection of General Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the detached corps under Brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with amazing activity, and grievously incommoded the enemy, both of the town and the shipping. On the twenty-first day of July the three great ships, the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Célèbre*, were set on fire by a bomb-shell, and burned to ashes, so that none remained but the *Prudent* and

C H A P.

IX.

1758.



B O O K

III.

1758.

Bienfaisant, which the Admiral undertook to destroy. For this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days of the month, the boats of the squadron were in two divisions detached into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry, and boarded the enemy sword in hand. The Prudent, being a-ground, was set on fire, and destroyed, but the Bienfaisant was towed out of the harbour in triumph. In the prosecution of the siege, the Admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former cheerfully assisting the latter with cannon and other implements; with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore, with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal skill and activity, and kept up with great perseverance; until, at length, their shipping being all taken or destroyed, the caserns<sup>6</sup> ruined in the two principal bastions, forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon dismounted, broke, or rendered unserviceable, and divers practicable breaches effected, the governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherst, proposed a capitulation on the same articles that

<sup>6</sup> It may not be amiss to observe, that a cavalier, which Admiral Knowles had built at an enormous expense to the nation, while Louisbourg remained in the hands of the English in the last war, was in the course of this siege, entirely demolished by two or three shots from one of the British batteries; so admirably had this piece of fortification been contrived and executed, under the eye of that profound engineer.

were



were granted to the English at Port-Mahon. In answer to this proposal he was given to understand, that he and his garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war, otherwise he might next morning expect a general assault by the shipping under Admiral Boscawen. The Chevalier Drucour, piqued at the severity of these terms, replied, that he would, rather than comply with them, stand an assault; but the commissary-general, and intendant of the colony, presented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in consequence of which he submitted. On the twenty-seventh day of July three companies of grenadiers, commanded by Major Farquhar, took possession of the western gate; and Brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to see the garrison lay down their arms, and deliver up their colors on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards on the stores, magazines, and ramparts. Thus, at the expense of about four hundred men killed and wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape-Breton, and the strong town of Louisbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were sent to France in English bottoms, but the garrison, together with the sea-officers marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven prisoners, were transported to England. The loss of Louisbourg was the more severely felt by the French King, as it had been attended with the destruction of so many considerable

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



**B O O K** ships and frigates. The particulars of this transaction  
**III.** were immediately brought to England, in a vessel  
**1758.** dispatched for that purpose, with Captain Amherst, brother to the commander, who was also intrusted with eleven pair of colors taken at Louisbourg: these were, by his Majesty's order, carried in pompous parade, escorted by detachments of horse and foot-guards, with kettle-drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kensington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon, and other noisy expressions of triumph and exultation. Indeed, the public rejoicings for the conquest of Louisbourg were diffused through every part of the British dominions, and addresses of congratulation were presented to the King by a great number of flourishing towns and corporations.

§ VI. After the reduction of Cape-Breton, some ships were detached, with a body of troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John, which also lies in the gulf of St. Laurence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had since the beginning of the war supplied Quebec with considerable quantities of provision. It was likewise the asylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for shelter from the English government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians used to make their sudden irruptions into Nova-Scotia, where they perpetrated the most inhuman barbarities on the defenceless subjects of Great-Britain. The number of inhabitants amounted to four thousand one hundred,



who submitted, and brought in their arms: then Lord Rollo took possession of the governor's quarters, where he found several scalps of Englishmen, whom the savages had assassinated, in consequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a certain premium for every scalp they produced. The island was stocked with above ten thousand head of black cattle, and some of the farmers raised each twelve hundred bushels of corn annually for the market of Quebec.

CHAP.

IX.

1758.

§ VII. The joy and satisfaction arising from the conquest of Louisbourg and St. John was not a little checked by the disaster which befel the main body of the British forces in America, under the immediate conduct of General Abercrombie, who, as we have already observed, had proposed the reduction of the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his enterprise, with a view to secure the frontier of the British colonies, and open a passage for the future conquest of Canada. In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand provincials, embarked on the lake George, in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaux, and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, with provision, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purposed landing, which was next day effected without opposition. The general's design was to invest Ticonderoga, a fort situated on a tongue of land, extending between Lake George



BOOK

III.

1758.

and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three sides, surrounded with water, and in front nature had secured it with a morass. The English troops being disembarked, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having set it on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The British forces continued their march in the same order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progression or passage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another. Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right centre-column, encountered a French detachment who had likewise lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a warm skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss, a good number were killed, and one hundred and forty-eight were taken prisoners, including five officers. This petty advantage was dearly bought with the loss of Lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unspeakably regretted as a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address. The general perceiving the troops were greatly fatigued



and disordered from want of rest and refreshment, thought it advisable to march back to the landing place, which they reached about eight in the morning. Then he detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with one regular regiment, six companies of the Royal Americans, with the batteaux-men, and a body of rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. This post being secured, the general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he understood from the prisoners the enemy had assembled eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to six thousand. These, they said, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable intrenchment, where they intended to wait for a re-enforcement of three thousand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk-river<sup>7</sup>; but upon intelligence of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga. This information determined the English general to strike, if possible, some decisive stroke before the junction could be effected. He, therefore, early next morning sent his engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort, to reconnoitre the enemy's intrench-

<sup>7</sup> This officer intended to have made an irruption through the pass of Oneida on the Mohawk-river, but was recalled before he could execute his design. General Abercrombie afterwards sent thither Brigadier Stanwix, with a considerable body of Provincials: and this important pass was secured by a fort built at that juncture.



BOOK

III.

1758.

ments, and he reported, that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a good prospect of success. A disposition was made accordingly for the attack, and after proper guards had been left at the saw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion. They advanced with great alacrity towards the intrenchment, which, however, they found altogether impracticable. The breast-work was raised eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abbattis, or felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in such a manner as to render the intrenchment almost inaccessible. Notwithstanding these discouraging difficulties, the British troops marched up to the assault with an undaunted resolution, and sustained a terrible fire without flinching. They endeavoured to cut their way through these embarrassments with their swords, and some of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were so well covered, that they could deliberately direct their fire without the least danger to themselves: the carnage was therefore considerable, and the troops began to fall into confusion, after several repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most disadvantageous circumstances. The general, by this time, saw plainly that no hope of success remained; and, in order to prevent a total defeat, took measures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmolested to their former camp, with the loss of about eighteen hundred men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops behaved, on this unfortunate occasion, with remarkable



intrepidity, but the greatest loss was sustained by Lord John Murray's Highland-regiment, of which above one half of the private men, and twenty-five officers, were either slain upon the spot, or desperately wounded. Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to stay in the neighbourhood of the enemy with forces which had received such a dispiriting check, retired to his batteaux, and re-embarking the troops, returned to the camp at Lake-George, from whence he had taken his departure. Censure, which always attends miscarriage, did not spare the character of this commander; his attack was condemned as rash, and his retreat as pusillanimous. In such cases, allowance must be made for the peevishness of disappointment, and the clamor of connexion. How far Mr. Abercrombie acquitted himself in the duty of a general we shall not pretend to determine; but if he could depend upon the courage and discipline of his forces, he surely had nothing to fear, after the action, from the attempts of the enemy, to whom he would have been superior in number, even though they had been joined by the expected re-enforcement: he might, therefore, have remained on the spot, in order to execute some other enterprize when he should be re-enforced in his turn; for General Amherst no sooner heard of his disaster than he returned with the troops from Cape-Breton to New-England, after having left a strong garrison in Louisbourg. At the head of six regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake some other service before the season should be exhausted.



B O O K

III.

1758.

§ VIII. In the mean time, General Abercrombie had detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with a body of three thousand men, chiefly Provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed against Cadaraqui, or Fort-Frontenac, situated on the north-side of the river St. Laurence, just where it takes its origin from the Lake Ontario. To the side of this lake he penetrated with his detachment, and embarking in some sloops and batteaux, provided for the purpose, landed within a mile of Fort-Frontenac, the garrison of which consisting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately surrendered at discretion. Considering the importance of this post, which, in a great measure, commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and served as a magazine to the more southern castles, the French general was inexcusable for leaving it in such a defenceless condition. The fortification itself was inconsiderable and ill contrived; nevertheless, it contained sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, with an immense quantity of merchandise and provisions, deposited for the use of the French forces detached against Brigadier Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies, as well as for the subsistence of the corps commanded by M. de Levi, on his enterprise against the Mohawk-river. Mr. Bradstreet not only reduced the fort without bloodshed, but also made himself master of all the enemy's shipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns. Two of these Mr. Bradstreet conveyed to Oswego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had



C H A P.

IX.

1758.

destroyed Fort-Frontenac, with all the artillery, stores, provision, and merchandise which it contained. In consequence of this exploit, the French troops to the southward were exposed to the hazard of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving orders to abandon and destroy a fort, which, if properly strengthened and sustained, might have rendered the English masters of the Lake Ontario, and grievously harassed the enemy, both in their commerce, and expeditions to the westward. Indeed, great part of the Indian trade centered at Frontenac, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of America, some of them at the distance of a thousand miles, and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. So much did the French traders excel the English in the art of conciliating the affection of those savage tribes, that great part of them, in their yearly progress to this remote market, actually passed by the British settlement of Albany, in New-York, where they might have been supplied with what articles they wanted much more cheap than they could purchase them at Frontenac or Montreal: nay, the French traders used to furnish themselves with these very commodities from the merchants of New-York, and found this traffic much more profitable than that of procuring the same articles from France, loaded with the expense of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the sea to the source of the river St. Laurence.

§ IX. In all probability, the destruction of Frontenac facilitated the expedition against Fort du Quesne, intrusted to the conduct of Brigadier Forbes,



B O O K

III.

1758.

who, with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country very little known, destitute of military roads, encumbered with mountains, morasses, and woods, that were almost impenetrable. It was not without incredible exertion of industry that he procured provisions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured camps, and surmounted many other difficulties in the course of his tedious march, during which he was also harassed by small detachments of the enemy's Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, at the distance of ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and advanced Colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men, about fifty miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached Major-Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its out-works. The enemy perceiving him approach, sent a body of troops against him, sufficient to surround his whole detachment: a very severe action began, which the English maintained with their usual courage for three hours, against cruel odds, but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyal-Henning, with the loss of about three hundred men killed or taken, including Major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and nineteen officers. Notwithstanding this mortifying check, Brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, resolved to prosecute his operations with vigor; but the enemy, dreading the prospect of



a siege, dismantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. They quitted the fort on the twenty-fourth day of November, and next day it was possessed by the British forces. As for the Indians of this country, they seemed heartily to renounce their connexions with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government of his Britannic Majesty. Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Quesne to Pittsburgh, secured it with a garrison of provincials, and concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his retreat built a block-house, near Lyal-Henning, for the defence of Pennsylvania; but he himself did not long survive these transactions, his constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service. Thus have we given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this campaign was distinguished on the continent of America: the reader will be convinced that, notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the disaster of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Quesne, the arms of Great-Britain acquired many important advantages; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of Quebec, and conquest of all Canada. In the mean time, the Admirals Boscawen and Hardy, having left a considerable squadron at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, returned with four ships of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chase to six large French ships, which they descried to the westward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

C H A P.

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

§ X. The conquest of the French settlements in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete, whilst France still kept possession of the island of Goree, the ministry of Great-Britain resolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortress. For this purpose Commodore Keppel, brother to the Earl of Albemarle, was vested with the command of a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, several frigates, two bomb-ketches, and some transports, having on board seven hundred men of the regular troops, commanded by Colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Cork in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the eleventh day of November. After a tempestuous passage, in which they touched at the isle of Teneriffe, they arrived at Goree in the latter end of December, and the Commodore made a disposition for attacking this island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a small barren island, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form; and on the south-west side rising into a rocky hill, on which the paltry fort of St. Michael is situated. There is another, still more inconsiderable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the island; and several batteries were raised around its sweep, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon, and four mortars. The French governor, M. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garrison amounted to about three hundred men, exclusive of as many negro-inhabitants. The flat-bottomed boats, for disembarking the troops,



being hoisted out, and disposed along side of the different transports, the Commodore stationed his ships on the west-side of the island, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the ketches. This was a signal for the great ships, which poured in their broad-sides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island. In the course of the action the cannonading from the ships became so severe and terrible, that the French garrison deserted their quarters, in spite of all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himself like a man of honor; but he was obliged to strike his colors, and surrender at discretion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the loss of the British Commodore did not exceed one hundred men killed and wounded. The success of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garrison had not lost a man, except one negro killed by the bursting of a bomb-shell, and the number of their wounded was very inconsiderable. While the attack lasted, the opposite shore of the continent was lined with a concourse of negroes, assembled to view the combat, who expressed their sentiments and surprise in loud clamor and uncouth gesticulations, and seemed to be impressed with awe and astonishment at the power and execution of the British squadron. The French colors being struck, as a signal of submission, the Commodore sent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hoisted the British flag upon the castle of St. Michael. In the mean time the governor and the rest of the prisoners were secured among the shipping. Thus the important island

C H A P.

IX.

1758.



BOOK  
III.  
1758.

of Goree fell into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels that chanced to be at anchor in the road, and stores, money, and merchandise to the value of twenty thousand pounds. Part of the troops being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of Major Newton, together with three sloops for his service, the squadron being watered and refreshed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalof kings, and the prisoners, with their baggage; being dismissed in three cartel-ships to France, the Commodore set sail for Senegal, and re-enforced Fort-Louis with the rest of the troops, under Colonel Worge, who was at this juncture favored with a visit by the King of Legibelli: but very little pains were taken to dismiss this potentate in good humor, or maintain the disposition he professed to favor the commerce of Great-Britain. True it is, he was desirous of engaging the English in his quarrels with some neighbouring nations; and such engagements were cautiously and politically avoided, because it was the interest of Great-Britain to be upon good terms with every African prince who could promote and extend the commerce of her subjects.

§ XI. Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and re-enforced the garrison of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ships arrived, after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed. This expedition, however successful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, the loss of the Lichfield ship of war, commanded by Captain Barton, which, together with one transport



and a bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocco. One hundred and thirty men, including several officers, perished on this occasion; but the captain and the rest of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made shift to reach the shore, where they ran the risque of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time subsisted between Great-Britain and Morocco; nay, they were even enslaved by the Emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ransomed by the British government: so little dependence can be placed on the faith of such barbarian princes, with whom it is even a disgrace for any civilized nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages may arise from the connexion.

§ XII. The incidents of the war that happened in the West-Indies, during these occurrences, may be reduced to a small compass. Nothing extraordinary was achieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, where Admiral Coates commanded a small squadron, from which he detached cruisers occasionally for the protection of the British commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually secured by the vigilance of Captain Tyrrel, whose courage and activity were equal to his conduct and circumspection. In the month of March, this gentleman, with his own ship the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demolished a fort on the island of Martinique, and destroyed four pri-



BOOK

III.

1758.

vateers riding under its protection; but his valor appeared much more conspicuous in a subsequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruise in his own ship, the Buckingham, by Commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward Islands, he fell in with the Weazel sloop, commanded by Captain Boles, between the islands of Montserrat and Guadaloupe, and immediately discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventy-four cannon, and two large frigates. Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chase with all the sail he could carry, and the Weazel running close to the enemy, received a whole broad-side from the large ship, which, however, she sustained without much damage: nevertheless, Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship, the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying-to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern-chase, while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes raking him for and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came along-side of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a whole broad-side, which did considerable execution. The salutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand; so that, being entirely disabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ship to his first lieutenant,



lieutenant, Mr. Marshal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he lost his life: then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant, who acquitted himself with equal honor, and sustained a desperate fight against three ships of the enemy. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigor and deliberation, and Captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his small arms so effectually, as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confusion, terror, and uproar prevailing on board the Florissant, her firing ceased, and her colors were hauled down about twilight; but her commander, perceiving that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to pursue with any hope of success, ordered all his sails to be set, and fled in the dark with his two consorts. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty-five guns, indifferently manned in respect to number, from taking a French ship of the line, mounted with seventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with seven hundred men, and assisted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight guns, and the other wanting two of this number. The loss of the Buckingham, in this action, did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas the number of the slain on board the Florissant did not fall short of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is said to have exceeded three hundred. She was so disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with



**BOOK** the loss of forty men, received such damage as to  
**III.** be for some time quite unserviceable.

1758.

§ XIII. In the East-Indies the transactions of the war were chequered with a variety of success; but, on the whole, the designs of the enemy were entirely defeated. The French commander, M. de Buffy, had, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, quarrelled with Salabatzing, viceroy of Decan, because this last would not put him in possession of the fortress of Golconda. In the course of the next year, while the English forces were employed in Bengal, Mr. de Buffy made himself master of the British factories of Ingeram, Bandarmalanka, and Vizagapatam, and the reduction of this last left the enemy in possession of the whole coast of Coromandel, from Ganjam to Masulipatam. While a body of the English company's forces, under Captain Caillaud, endeavoured to reduce the important fortress and town of Madura, the French under M. d'Anteuil, invested Trichinopoly, Caillaud no sooner received intelligence of the danger to which this place was exposed, than he hastened to its relief, and obliged the enemy to abandon the siege. Then he returned to Madura, and, after an unsuccessful assault, made himself master of it by capitulation. During these transactions, Colonel Forde made an attempt upon the fort of Nelloure, a strong place, at the distance of twenty-four miles from Madras, but miscarried; and this was also the fate of an expedition against Wandewash, undertaken by Colonel Aldercron. The first was repulsed in storming the place, the other was anticipated by the French army, which marched



from Pondicherry to the relief of the garrison. The French king had sent a considerable re-enforcement to the East-Indies, under the command of General Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, together with such a number of ships as rendered the squadron of M. d'Apché superior to that of Admiral Pococke, who had succeeded Admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of the English squadron stationed on the coast of Coromanded, which, in the beginning of this year, was re-enforced from England with several ships, under the direction of Commodore Stevens. Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the twenty-fourth day of March, Admiral Pococke, who had already signalized himself by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, sailed to windward, with a view to intercept the French squadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he descried in the road of Fort St. David's the enemy's fleet, consisting of nine ships, which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The Admiral took the same precaution, and bearing down upon M. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon. The French commodore, having sustained a warm action for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet, and being joined by two ships, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pococke's own ship, and some others, being greatly damaged in their masts and rigging, two of his captains having misbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it advisable to pursue them with all the sail he could



B O O K

III.

1758.

carry; but, nevertheless, he followed them at a proper distance, standing to the south-west, in order to maintain the weather-gage, in case he should be able to renew the action in the morning. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed; the enemy showed no lights, nor made any signals that could be observed; and in the morning not the least vestige of them appeared. Mr. Pococke, on the supposition that they had weathered him in the night, endeavoured to work up after them to windward, but finding he lost ground considerably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that settlement, that one of the largest French ships, having been disabled in the engagement, was run ashore to the southward of Alemparve, where their whole squadron lay at anchor. Such was the issue of the first action between the English and French squadrons in the East-Indies, which, over and above the loss of a capital ship, is said to have cost the enemy about five hundred men, whereas the British Admiral did not lose one fifth part of that number. Being dissatisfied with the behaviour of three captains, he, on his return to Madras, appointed a court-martial to inquire into their conduct; two were dismissed from the service, and the third was sentenced to lose one year's rank as a post-captain.

§ XIV. In the mean time Mr. Lally had disembarked his troops at Pondicherry, and taking the field, immediately invested the fort of St. David's, while the squadron blocked it up by sea. Two English ships being at anchor in the road when the enemy



arrived, their captains seeing no possibility of escaping, ran them on shore, set them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortrefs, which, however, was in a few days surrendered. A much more resolute defence was expected from the courage and conduct of Major Polier, who commanded the garrison. When he arrived at Madras, he was subjected to a court of inquiry, which acquitted him of cowardice, but were of opinion that the place might have held out much longer, and that the terms on which it surrendered were shameful, as the enemy were not even masters of the outward covered way, as they had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and pass, before the town could have been properly assaulted. Polier, in order to wipe off this disgrace, desired to serve as a volunteer, with Colonel Draper, and was mortally wounded in a sally at the siege of Madras. Admiral Pococke having, to the best of his power, repaired his shattered ships, set sail again on the tenth of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any service. On the thirtieth day of the month he came in sight of Pondicherry, from whence the French squadron stood away early next morning, nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose. Then receiving intelligence that fort St. David's was surrendered to the enemy, he returned again to Madras, in order to refresh his squadron. On the twenty-fifth day of July, he sailed a third time in quest of M. d'Apché, and, in two days perceived his squadron,

C H A P.

IX.

1758.



B O O K

III.

1758.

consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no sooner descried him advancing than they stood out to sea as before, and he continued to chase, in hopes of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitless till the third day of August, when, having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began with great impetuosity on both sides, but in little more than ten minutes Mr. d'Apché set his fore-sail, and bore away, his whole squadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The British Admiral then hoisted the signal for a general chase, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and crowd with all the sail they could carry. They escaped by favor of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pococke anchored with his squadron off Carical, a French settlement, having thus obtained an undisputed victory, with the loss of thirty men killed, and one hundred and sixteen wounded, including Commodore Stevens and Captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous. The number of killed and wounded on board the French squadron amounted, according to report, to five hundred and forty; and their fleet was so much damaged, that in the beginning of September their commodore sailed for the island of Bourbon, in the same latitude with Madagascar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and sovereignty of the Indian seas to the English Admiral, whose fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much



inferior to the French squadron in number of ships and men as well as in weight of metal. C H A P.

IX.

1758.

§ XV. Mr Lally having reduced Cuddalore and Fort St. David's<sup>\*</sup>, resolved to extort a sum of money from the King of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the last war, he had granted an obligation to the French governor for a certain sum, which had never been paid. Lally accordingly marched with a body of three thousand men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded seventy - two lack of rupees. This extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town on the sea-coast, and afterwards invested the capital: but after he had prosecuted the siege until a breach was made, his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail, several vigorous sallies being made by the forces of the King of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, sent from the English garrison at Trichinopoly, he found himself obliged to raise the siege, and retreat with precipitation, leaving his cannon behind. He arrived at Carical about the middle of August, and from thence retired to Pondicherry towards the end of September. He afterwards cantoned his troops in the province of Arcot, entered the city without opposition, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madras, which shall be recorded among the incidents of the succeeding year. In the mean time, the land-forces belonging to the

<sup>\*</sup> Cuddalore was in such a defenceless condition, that it could make no resistance; and there being no place in Fort St. David's bomb-proof, nor any provisions or fresh water, the garrison surrendered in twelve days, on capitulation, after having sustained a severe bombardment.



BOOK East-India company were so much out-numbered  
 111. by the re-enforcements which arrived with Mr.  
 1758. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field, but were obliged to remain on the defensive, and provide as well as they could for the security of Fort St. George, and the other settlements in that part of India.

§ XVI. Having particularized the events of the war which distinguished this year in America, Africa, and Asia, those remote scenes in which the interest of Great-Britain was immediately and intimately concerned, it now remains to record the incidents of the military operations in Germany, supported by British subsidies, and enforced by British troops, to favor the abominable designs of an ally, from whose solitary friendship the British nation can never reap any solid benefit; and to defend a foreign elector, in whose behalf she had already lavished an immensity of treasure. Notwithstanding the bloodshed and ravages which had signalized the former campaign, the mutual losses of the belligerent powers, the incredible expense of money, the difficulty of recruiting armies thinned by sword and distemper, the scarcity of forage and provision, the distresses of Saxony in particular, and the calamities of war, which desolated the greatest part of the empire, no proposition of peace was hinted by either of the parties concerned, but the powers at variance seemed to be exasperated against each other with the most implacable resentment. Jarring interests were harmonized, old prejudices rooted up, inveterate jealousies assuaged, and even inconsistencies



reconciled, in connecting the confederacy which was now formed and established against the King of Prussia; and, on the other hand, the King of Great-Britain seemed determined to employ the whole power and influence of his crown in supporting this monarch. Yet the members of the grand confederacy were differently actuated by disagreeing motives, which, in the sequel, operated for the preservation of his Prussian Majesty, by preventing the full exertion of their united strength. The Empress-Queen, over and above her desire of retrieving Silesia, which was her primary aim, gave way to the suggestions of personal hatred and revenge, to the gratification of which she may be said to have sacrificed, in some measure, the interests of her family, as well as the repose of the empire, by admitting the natural enemies of her house into the Austrian Netherlands, and inviting them to invade the dominions of her co-estates with a formidable army. France, true to her old political maxims, wished to see the house of Austria weakened by the divisions in the empire, which she accordingly fomented: for this reason it could not be her interest to effect the ruin of the house of Brandenburg; and, therefore, she had, no doubt, set bounds to the prosecution of her schemes in concert with the court of Vienna; but her designs against Hanover amounted to absolute conquest: in pursuance of these, she sent an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men across the Rhine, instead of four-and-twenty thousand, which she had engaged to furnish by the original treaty with the Empress-Queen of Hungary, who is said to have shared in

C H A P.

IX.

1758



BOOK

III.

1758.

the spoils of the electorate. The Czarina, by co-operating with the houses of Bourbon and Austria, gratified her personal disgust towards the Prussian monarch, augmented her finances by considerable subsidies from both, and perhaps amused herself with the hope of obtaining an establishment in the German empire; but whether she wavered in her own sentiments, or her ministry fluctuated between the promises of France and the presents of Great-Britain, certain it is, her forces had not acted with vigor in Pomerania; and her General Apraxin, instead of prosecuting his advantage, had retreated immediately after the Prussians miscarried in their attack. He was indeed disgraced, and tried for having thus retired without orders; but in all probability this trial was no other than a farce, acted to amuse the other confederates, while the Empress of Russia gained time to deliberate upon the offers that were made, and determine with regard to the advantages or disadvantages that might accrue to her from persevering in the engagements which she had contracted. As for the Swedes, although they had been instigated to hostilities against Prussia by the intrigues of France, and flattered with hopes of retrieving Pomerania, they prosecuted the war in such a dispirited and ineffectual manner, as plainly proved that either the ancient valor of that people was extinct, or that the nation was not heartily engaged in the quarrel.

§ XVII. When the Russian general Apraxin retreated from Pomerania, Marechal Lehwald, who commanded the Prussians in that country, was left



at liberty to turn his arms against the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almost without opposition. By the beginning of January they had evacuated all Prussian Pomerania, and Lehwald invaded their dominions in his turn. He, in a little time, made himself master of all Swedish Pomerania, except Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and possessed himself of several magazines which the enemy had erected. The Austrian army, after their defeat at Breslaw, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head-quarters being fixed at Kœnigskrætz. The King of Prussia having cleared all his part of Silesia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he circumscribed with a blockade, sent detachments from his army cantoned in the neighbourhood of Breslaw, to penetrate into the Austrian or southern part of Silesia, where they surprised Troppau and Jægerndorf, while he himself remained at Breslaw, entertaining his officers with concerts of music. Not that he suffered these amusements to divert his attention from subjects of greater importance. He laid Swedish Pomerania under contribution, and made a fresh demand of five hundred thousand crowns from the electorate of Saxony. Having received intimation that the Duke of Meklenburgh, was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only secured the magazines, but levied considerable contributions; and the Duke retired to Lubeck, attended by the French minister. The states of Saxony having proved a little dilatory in obeying his Prussian Majesty's injunction, received



**B O O K** a second intimation, importing, that they should  
**III.** levy and deliver, within a certain time, eighteen  
**1758.** thousand recruits for his army, pay into the hands of his commissary one year's revenue of the electorate in advance; and Leipzick was taxed with an extraordinary subsidy of eight hundred thousand crowns, on pain of military execution. The States were immediately convoked at Leipzick, in order to deliberate on these demands; and the city being unable to pay such a considerable sum, the Prussian troops began to put their monarch's threats in execution. He justified these proceedings, by declaring that the enemy had practised the same violence and oppression on the territories of his allies; but how the practice of his declared enemies, in countries which they had invaded and subdued in the common course of war, should justify him in pillaging and oppressing a people, with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not easy to conceive. As little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a prince, assuming the title of Protector of the Protestant Religion, which is the established faith among those very Saxons who were subjected to such grievous impositions; impositions the more grievous and unmerited, as they had never taken any share in the present war, but cautiously avoided every step that might be construed into provocation, since the King of Prussia declared they might depend upon his protection.

§ XVIII. Before we proceed to enumerate the events of the campaign, it may be necessary to inform the reader, that the forces brought into the field by the Empress-Queen of Hungary, and the



States of the Empire, the Czarina, the Kings of France and Sweden, fell very little short of three hundred thousand men; and all these were destined to act against the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hanover. In opposition to this formidable confederacy, his Prussian Majesty was, by the subsidy from England, the spoils of Saxony, and the revenues of Brandenburg, enabled to maintain an army of one hundred and forty thousand men; while the Elector of Hanover assembled a body of sixty thousand men, composed of his own electoral troops, with the auxiliary mercenaries of Hesse-Cassel, Bukeburgh, Saxe-Gotha, and Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, all of them maintained by the pay of Great-Britain. At this juncture, indeed, there was no other fund for their subsistence, as the countries of Hanover and Hesse were possessed by the enemy, and in the former the government was entirely changed.

C H A P.

IX.

1758.

§ XIX. In the month of December in the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he established his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faidy, to whom the French King granted the direction, receipt, and administration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. This director was, by a decree of the council of state, empowered to receive the revenues, not only of Hanover, but also of all other countries that should be subjected to his Most Christian Majesty in the course of the campaign; to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and



B O O K

III.

1758.

administration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room. The French King, by the same decree, ordained, that all persons who had been intrusted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, registers, or estimates, relating to the administration of the revenues should communicate them to John Faidy, or his attornies; that the magistrates of the towns, districts, and commonalties, as well as those who directed the administration of particular states and provinces, should deliver to the said John Faidy, or his attornies, the produce of six years of the duties and revenues belonging to the said towns, districts, and provinces, reckoning from the first of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, together with an authentic account of the sums they had paid during that term to the preceding sovereign, and of the charges necessarily incurred. It appears from the nature of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Closter-Seven and Bremeworden<sup>\*</sup>, the court of Versailles had determined to change the government and system of the electorate, contrary to an express article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it surrendered on the ninth day of August; and that the crown of France intended to take advantage of the cessation of arms, in seizing

<sup>\*</sup> Six days after the convention was signed at Closter-Seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremeworden, between the Generals Sporken and Villemur, relating to the release of prisoners, and some other points omitted in the convention.



places and provinces which were not yet subdued; for, by the decree above mentioned, the administration of John Faidy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to justice, then, could the French government charge the Elector of Hanover with the infraction of articles? or what respect to good faith and humanity did the Duke de Richelieu observe, in the order issued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles signed at Closter-Seven, all the effects belonging to the officers, or others, employed in the Hanoverian army, should be confiscated for the use of his Most Christian Majesty?

C H A P.

IX.

1758.

§ XX. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, being desirous of averting a like storm from his dominions, not only promised to renounce all connexion with the Kings of Great-Britain and Prussia, but even solicited the court of France to receive him among the number of its dependants; for, on the eighteenth day of October, the minister of the Duc de Deux-ponts, delivered at Versailles, in the name of the Landgrave, the plan of a treaty founded on the following conditions. The Landgrave, after having expressed an ardent desire of attaching himself wholly to France, proposed these articles: That he should enter into no engagement against the King and his allies; and give no assistance directly or indirectly to the enemies of his Majesty and his allies: that he should never give his vote, in the general or particular assemblies of the Empire, against his Majesty's interest; but, on the



BOOK

III.

1758.

contrary, employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the Empire: that for this end, his troops, which had served in the Hanoverian army, should engage in the service of France, on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannic Majesty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his Most Christian Majesty should restore the dominions of the Landgrave in the same condition they were in when subdued by the French forces: that these dominions should be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse; and the French troops pay for all the provision with which they might be supplied; in which case the Landgrave should exact no toll for warlike stores, provisions, or other articles of that nature, which might pass through his dominions: that the King of France should guarantee all his estates, all the rights of the house of Hesse-Cassel, particularly the act of assurance signed by his son, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; use his interest with the Emperor and the Empress-Queen, that, in consideration of the immense losses and damages his most serene highness had suffered since the French invaded his country, and of the great sums he should lose with England in arrears and subsidies by this accommodation, he might be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the Empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the diet of the Empire; and if, in resentment of this convention, the states of his serene highness should



should be attacked, his Most Christian Majesty should afford the most speedy and effectual succours. These proposals will speak for themselves to the reader's apprehension; and if he is not blinded by the darkest mists of prejudice, exhibit a clear and distinct idea of a genuine German ally. The Landgrave of Hesse - Cassel had been fed with the good things of England, even in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail, nor his aversion prejudice the interests of Great - Britain: but he was retained in that season of tranquillity as a friend, on whose services the most implicit dependence might be placed in any future storm or commotion. How far he merited this confidence and favor might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the former war: in the course of which his troops were hired to the King of Great-Britain and his enemies alternately, as the scale of convenience happened to preponderate. Since the commencement of the present troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great - Britain, although he was a principal in the dispute, and stood connected with her designs by solemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honor: but now that the cause of Hanover seemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had suffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even sued to be enlisted in the service of his adversary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a sudden turn of fortune, which he could not possibly foresee, and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

§ XXI. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was not singular in making such advances to the French monarch. The Duke of Brunswick, still more nearly connected with the King of Great-Britain, used such uncommon expedition in detaching himself from the tottering fortune of Hanover, that in ten days after the convention of Closter-Seven he had concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Versailles; so that the negociation must have been begun before that convention took place. On the twentieth day of September his minister at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the Duke of Brunswick, accepted and signed the conditions which the French King and his Austrian ally thought proper to impose. These imported, That his Most Christian Majesty should keep possession of the cities of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttel during the war, and make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores deposited in their arsenals: that the Duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the Duke of Cumberland, should be disbanded and disarmed; and take an oath, that they should not, during the present war, serve against the King or his allies: that the Duke should be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two squadrons of horse, for the guard of his person and castles; but the regulations made by Marechal Richelieu and the intendant of his army should subsist on their present footing: that the Duke should furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the Empire: that his forces should immediately join those which the Germanic body had assembled; and that he should order his minister at Ratisbon to vote conformably to



the resolutions of the diet, approved and confirmed by the Emperor. In consideration of all these concessions, the Duke was restored to the favor of the French King, who graciously promised that neither his revenues nor his treasure should be touched, nor the administration of justice invaded; and that nothing further should be demanded, but winter-quarters for those regiments which should pass that season in the country of Brunswick. How scrupulously soever the Duke might have intended to observe the articles of this treaty, his intentions were frustrated by the conduct of his brother Prince Ferdinand, who, being invested with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to resume the operations of war against the enemy, detained the troops of Brunswick, as well as his nephew the Hereditary Prince, notwithstanding the treaty which his brother had signed, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his son to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland. The Duke wrote an expostulatory letter to Prince Ferdinand, pathetically complaining that he had seduced his troops, decoyed his son, and disgraced his family; insisting upon the prince's pursuing his journey, as well as upon the return of the troops: and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to use other means that should be more effectual<sup>10</sup>. Notwithstanding this

CHAP.

IX.

1758.

<sup>10</sup> Translation of the letter written by the Duke of Brunswick to his brother, Prince Ferdinand:

“SIR,

“I KNOW you too well to doubt that the situation in which we stand at present, with respect to each other, gives you abundance of uneasiness; nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern: indeed, it afflicts me greatly. Mean while I



BOOK

III.

1758.

warm remonstrance, Prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan. He detained the troops, and the Hereditary

could never, my dearest brother, have believed that you would be the person who should carry away from me my eldest son. I am exceedingly mortified to find myself under the hard necessity of telling you that this step is contrary to the law of nations, and the constitutions of the Empire; and that, if you persist in it, you will disgrace your family, and bring a stain upon your country, which you pretend to serve. The Hereditary Prince, my son, was at Hamburgh by my order, and you have carried him to Stade. Could he distrust his uncle, an uncle who hath done so much honor to his family? Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty, a liberty never refused to the lowest officer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the lowest officer have done as much? Let us suppose for a moment, that my troops, among whom he served, were to have staid with the Hanoverians, would it not have been still in my power to give an officer leave of absence, or even leave to resign his commission? and would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of such a family as our's, to exercise this right with regard to a son, who is the Hereditary Prince, of whose rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impossible you could have conceived such designs, without the suggestion of others. Those who did suggest them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany: they have induced you to add to all these the most cruel insult on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmest affection. Would you have your brother lay his just complaints against you before the whole Empire, and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes become, and our house in particular? Is it the interest of the two kings, the cause of your country, and my cause that you pretend to support? — I repeat it, brother, that this design could not have been framed by you. I again command my son to pursue his journey; and I cannot conceive you will give the least obstruction: if you should (which I pray God avert) I so-



Prince, who, being fond of the service, in a little time signalized himself by very extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father to measures that expressly contradicted his engagements with the courts of Vienna and Versailles.

§ XXII. The defeat of the French army at Rosbach, I solemnly declare that I will not be constrained by such measures, nor shall I ever forget what I owe to myself. As to my troops, you may see what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian ministry. The Duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Closter-Seven, dismissed them, and sent them home: the said ministry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound. The march of the troops was settled; and an incident happening, they halted: that obstacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention, while I not only accepted it on their word, but have also, in conformity with their instructions, negotiated at Versailles, and at Vienna. After all these steps they would have me contradict myself, break my word, and entirely ruin my estate, as well as my honor. Did you ever know your brother guilty of such things? True it is, I have, as you say, sacrificed my all; or rather, I have been sacrificed. The only thing left me is my honor; and in the unhappy contrast of our situations, I lament both you and myself, that it should be from you, my dear brother, I should receive the cruel advice to give up my honor. I cannot listen to it; I cannot recede from my promise. My troops, therefore, must return home, agreeably to what the Duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian ministry stipulated with regard to me in the strongest manner. I am afraid that the true circumstances of things are concealed from you. Not to detain you express too long, I shall send you, by the post, copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian ministry. It will grieve your honest heart to read it. I am, with a heart almost broken, yet full of tenderness for you, your, &c.

“ Blankenburgh, Nov. 27, 1757.”



B O O K

III.

1758.

and the retreat of the Russians from Pomerania, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the Empire. The French King was soon obliged to abandon his conquests on that side of the Rhine, and his threats founded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Prussian allies. As little formidable were the denunciations of the Emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulic council, communicated to the diet certain mandates, issued in the month of August in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the Empire, with avocatory letters annexed, against the King of Great-Britain, Elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the King of Prussia. The French court likewise published a virulent memorial, after the convention of Closter-Seven had been violated, and set aside, drawing an invidious parallel between the conduct of the French King and the proceedings of his Britannic Majesty; in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almost every meanness that could stain the character of a monarch. In answer to the Emperor's decree, and this virulent charge, Baron Gimmengen, the electoral Minister of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, presented to the diet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important services his sovereign had done the house of Austria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the Queen's refusing to assist him, when his dominions were threatened with an invasion. He enumerated many instances in which she had assisted, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in contempt of her former encouragements, and directly contrary to the constitution of the empire. He refuted every article of the charge which the



French court had brought against him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and with respect to France, justified every particular of his own conduct.

C H A P.

IX.

1758.

§ XXIII. While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter-quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenburgh, divers petty enterprises were executed by detachments with various success. The Hanoverian general Juncheim, having taken post at Halberstadt and Quedlimburgh, from whence he made excursions even to the gates of Brunswick, and kept the French army in continual alarm, was visited by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Acherfleben, committed great excesses in the town of Halberstadt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hostages for the payment of contributions. General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having dislodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Vogelsack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January the Duke de Broglio assembled a considerable corps of troops that were cantoned at Ottersburgh, Rothenburgh, and the adjacent country, and advancing to Bremen, demanded admittance, threatening, that, in case of a refusal, he would have recourse to extremities, and punish the inhabitants severely, should they make the least opposition. When their deputies waited upon him, to desire a short time for deliberation, he answered, "Not a moment — the Duke de Richelieu's orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay." He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was



B O O K

III.

1758.

scaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magistrates, at the earnest importunity of the people, resolved to comply with his demand. A second deputation was immediately dispatched to the Duke de Broglie, signifying their compliance; and the gates being opened, he marched into the city at midnight, after having promised upon his honor, that no attempt should be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conquest, however, was of short duration. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick being joined by a body of Prussian horse, under the command of Prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were dislodged from Rothenburg, Ottersburgh, and Verden, and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who took possession of it without opposition.

§ XXIV. By this time the court of Versailles, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, where his place was supplied by the Count de Clermont, to the general satisfaction of the army, as well as to the joy of the Hanoverian subjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant and inhuman acts of rapine and oppression. The new commander found his master's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, and distemper arising from hard duty, severe weather,



and the want of necessaries. As he could not pretend with such a wretched remnant, to oppose the designs of Prince Ferdinand in the field, or even maintain the footing which his predecessor had gained, he found himself under the necessity of retiring with all possible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, his troops retreated from their distant quarters with such precipitation, as to leave behind all their sick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers and soldiers, that fell into the hands of those parties by whom they were pursued. The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French intended to abandon that city, were overwhelmed with the fear of being subjected to every species of violence and abuse: but their apprehensions were happily disappointed by the honor and integrity of the Duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual measures for restraining the soldiers within the bounds of the most rigid discipline and moderation, but likewise exhibited a noble proof of generosity, almost without example. Instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either sold at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the city, who had been long exposed to the horrors of famine: an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deserve, or arbitrary monarchs bestow. The regency of Hanover were so deeply impressed with a sense of his heroic behaviour on this occasion, that they

C H A P.

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

gratefully acknowledged it, in a letter of thanks to him and the Count de Clermont; and on the day of solemn thanksgiving to heaven, for their being delivered from their enemies, the clergy in their sermons did not fail to celebrate and extol the charity and benevolence of the Duke de Randan. Such glorious testimonies, even from enemies, must have afforded the most exquisite pleasure to a mind endued with sensibility; and this, no doubt, may be termed one of the fairest triumphs of humanity.

§ XXV. The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they collected all their troops, except those that were left in Hoya, and about four thousand men placed in garrison at Minden, to retard the operations of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, having received intelligence that the Count de Chabot was posted with a considerable body of troops at Hoya, upon the Weser, detached the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with four battalions, and some light troops and dragoons, to dislodge them from that neighbourhood. This enterprize was executed with the utmost intrepidity. The Hereditary Prince passed the Weser at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river; and the enemy, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confusion. The bridge being abandoned, and near seven hundred men taken prisoners, the Count de Chabot threw himself, with two battalions, into the castle, where he resolved to



support himself, in hope of being relieved. The regiment of Bretagne, and some detachments of dragoons, were actually on the march to his assistance. The Hereditary Prince being made acquainted with this circumstance, being also destitute of heavy artillery to besiege the place in form, and taking it for granted he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken, he listened to the terms of capitulation proposed by the French general, whose garrison was suffered to march out with the honors of war; but their cannon, stores, and ammunition were surrendered to the victor. This was the first exploit of the Hereditary Prince, whose valor and activity, on many subsequent occasions, shone with distinguished lustre. He had no sooner reduced Hoya, than he marched to the attack of Minden, which he invested on the fifth day of March, and on the fourteenth the garrison surrendered at discretion. After the reduction of this city, the combined army advanced towards Hamelen, where the French general had established his head-quarters: but he abandoned them at the approach of the allies, and leaving behind all his sick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were in Embden, Cassel, and the landgraviate of Hesse, all which places were now evacuated. They were terribly harassed in their retreat by the Prussian hussars, and a body of light-horse, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-waggons, and some

C H A P.

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage; and even forgot to call in the garrison of Vechte, a small fortress in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made prisoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars. The Count de Clermont, having reached the banks of the Rhine, distributed his forces into quarters of cantonment in Wesel and the adjoining country, while Prince Ferdinand cantoned the allied army in the bishopric of Munster: here, however, he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May he ordered a detachment to pass the Rhine at Dusselburgh, under the command of Colonel Scheither, who executed his order without loss, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of June the whole army passed the Rhine, on a bridge constructed for the occasion, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march toward Wesel. Kaizerworth was surprised, the greater part of the garrison either killed or taken; and Prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the siege of Dusseldorf. In the mean time, the Count de Clermont, being unable to stop the rapidity of his progress, was obliged to secure his troops with strong intrenchments, until he should be properly re-enforced.

§ XXVI. The court of Versailles, though equally mortified and confounded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did not sit tamely and behold this reverse; but exerted their usual spirit and expedition



in retrieving the losses they had sustained. They assembled a body of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the Prince de Soubise, who, it was said, had received orders to penetrate, by the way of Donawert, Ingoldstadt, and Arnberg, into Bohemia. In the mean time, re-enforcements daily arrived in the camp of the Count de Clermont; and as repeated complaints had been made of the want of discipline and subordination in that army, measures were taken for reforming the troops by severity and example. The Mareschal Duke de Belleisle, who now acted as secretary at war with uncommon ability, wrote a letter, directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the King's name, with the loss of their regiments, should they connive any longer at the scandalous practice of buying commissions: an abuse which had crept into the service under various pretexts, to the discouragement of merit, the relaxation of discipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation. The Prince of Clermont having quitted his strong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys, a little higher up the river, and detached a considerable corps, under the command of the Count de St. Germain, to take post at Crevelt, situated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs: after several motions on both sides, Prince Ferdinand resolved to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a disposition for this purpose. He assigned the command of the whole left wing, consisting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, to Lieutenant-General Sporken: the conduct of the right wing, composed



BOOK

III.

1758.

of sixteen battalions and fourteen squadrons, was intrusted to the Hereditary Prince and Major-General Wangenheim; the squadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Prussian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the Prince of Holstein, while the Hereditary Prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, consisting of five squadrons of hussars, were divided between the Prince of Holstein and Lieutenant-General Sporken. Major Luckner's squadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to observe the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were posted in the village of Papendeik; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbittel were left in the town of Hulsfe, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's design was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embarrassed the route, and the numerous ditches that intersected this part of the country. On the twenty-third day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The Prince having viewed the position of the enemy from the steeple of St. Anthony, procured guides, and having received all the necessary hints of information, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages of Worst and Anrath; but, in order to divide their attention, and keep them in suspense with respect to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the Generals Sporken and Oberg to advance against



them by the way of Crevelt and St. Anthony, and in particular, to make the most of their artillery, that, being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from sending any re-enforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended. These precautions being taken, Prince Ferdinand, putting himself at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, continued his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few discharges of musquetry, retired to their camp and gave the alarm. In the mean time, both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath and Willich, opposite to the French forces, whose left was covered with a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon, with a severe cannonading on the part of Prince Ferdinand, which, though well supported, proved ineffectual in drawing the enemy from their cover: he, therefore, determined to dislodge them from the wood by dint of small arms. The Hereditary Prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obstinate action ensued. Mean while, the cavalry on the right in vain attempted to penetrate the wood on the other side, where the enemy had raised two batteries, which were sustained by forty squadrons of horse. After a terrible fire had been maintained on both sides, till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. These giving way abandoned the wood in the utmost disorder; but the pursuit was checked by

C H A P

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

the conduct and resolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithstanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys. The success of the day was, in a good measure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, with which the Generals Sporken and Oberg had done great execution, and employed the attention of the enemy on that side, while Prince Ferdinand prosecuted his attack on the other quarter. It must be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in great order to Nuys, though the left was defeated, with the loss of some standards, colors, and pieces of cannon, and six thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners<sup>11</sup>. This victory, however, which cost the allies about fifteen hundred men, was not at all decisive in its consequences; and, indeed, the plan seemed only calculated to display the enterprising genius of the Hanoverian general. True it is, the French army took refuge under the cannon of Cologne, where they remained, without hazarding any step for the relief of Dusseldorf, which Prince Ferdinand immediately invested, and in a few days reduced, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honors of war, on condition

<sup>11</sup> Among the French officers who lost their lives in this engagement, was the Count de Gisors, only son of the Marechal Duke de Belleisle, and last hope of that illustrious family, a young nobleman of extraordinary accomplishments, who finished a short life of honor in the embrace of military glory, and fell gallantly fighting at the head of his own regiment, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

that



that they should not, for the space of one year, carry arms against the allies.

CHAP.

IX.

1758.

§ XXVII. It was at this period that Count de Clermont resigned his command, which was conferred upon M. de Contades, and the French army was considerably re-enforced. He even threatened to attack Prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made some motions with that design, but was prevented by the little river Erff, behind which the prince resolved to lie quiet, until he should be joined by the body of British troops under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, the first division of which had just landed at Embden. He flattered himself that the Prince of Ysenburgh, at the head of the Hessian troops, would find employment for the Prince de Soubise, who had marched from Hanau, with a design to penetrate into the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel: his vanguard had been already surprised and defeated by the militia of the country; and the Prince of Ysenburgh was at the head of a considerable body of regular forces, assembled to oppose his further progress. Prince Ferdinand, therefore, hoped that the operations of the French general would be effectually impeded, until he himself, being joined by the British troops, should be in a condition to pass the Meuse, transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country, thus make a diversion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the Prince de Soubise to come to the assistance of the principal French army, commanded by M. de Contades. He had formed a plan which would have answered the purposes effectually, and, in execution of it, marched to



B O O K

III.

1758.

Ruremond on the Maese, when his measures were totally disconcerted by a variety of incidents which he could not foresee. The Prince of Ysenburgh was, on the twenty-third day of July, defeated at Sangerhausen by the Duke de Broglie, whom the Prince de Soubise had detached against him with a number of troops greatly superior to that which the Hessian general commanded. The Duke de Broglie, who commanded the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubise's army, having learned at Cassel, that the Hessian troops, under the Prince of Ysenburgh, were retiring towards Minden, he advanced, on the twenty-third of July, with a body of eight thousand men, to the village of Sangerhausen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a disposition for the attack. At first his cavalry were repulsed by the Hessian horse, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their turn. The Hessians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very obstinate resistance, by favor of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was secured. The dispute was so obstinate, that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground, but the Duke de Broglie ordering a fresh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Hessians, overpowered by numbers, gave way; part plunged into the river, where many perished, and part threw themselves into the wood, through which they escaped from the pursuit of the hussars, who took above two hundred soldiers and fifty officers, including the Count de Canitz, who was second in command. They likewise found on the



field of battle seven pieces of cannon, and eight at Minden : but the carnage was pretty considerable, and nearly equal on both sides. The number of the killed and wounded, on the side of the French, exceeded two thousand ; the loss of the Hessians was not so great. The Prince of Ysenburgh, having collected the remains of his little army, took post at Eimbeck, where he soon was re-enforced, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men : but, in consequence of this advantage, the enemy became masters of the Weser, and opened to themselves a free passage into Westphalia.

§ XXVIII. The progress of Prince Ferdinand upon the Maese had been retarded by a long succession of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impassable ; and now the certain information of this unlucky check left him no alternative but a battle or a retreat across the Rhine : the first was carefully avoided by the enemy ; the latter resolution, therefore, he found himself under a necessity to embrace. In his present position he was hampered by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortress of Guelders, the garrison of which had been lately re-enforced, as well as by divers other posts, capable of obstructing the convoys and subsistence of the combined army : besides, he had reason to apprehend that the Prince de Soubise would endeavour to intercept the British troops in their march from Embden. Induced by these considerations, he determined to repass the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made several motions for that purpose. Finding them averse

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

to an engagement, he made his dispositions for forcing the strong pass of Wachtendonck, an island surrounded by the Niers, of very difficult approach, and situated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This service was performed by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who, perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, rushed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the passage of the army towards Rhinebergen. At this place Prince Ferdinand received intelligence that M. de Chevert, reputed one of the best officers in the French service, had passed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and several squadrons, to join the garrison of Wesel, and fall upon Lieutenant-General Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard the bridge which the prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His Serene Highness was extremely desirous of sending succours to General Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning; and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in such a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impassable, so that M. Imhoff was left to the resources of his own conduct and the bravery of his troops, consisting of six battalions and four squadrons, already weakened by the absence of different detachments. This general having received advice, on the fourth of August, that the enemy intended to pass the Lippe the same evening with a considerable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and



join two battalions which had passed the Rhine in boats, under the command of General Zastrow, who re-enforced him accordingly; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the information was false, and resolved to resume his advantageous post at Meer. Of this he had no sooner repossessed himself, than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attack from Wesel, under the command of Lieutenant-General de Chevert, consisting of the whole corps intended for the siege of Dusseldorf. Imhoff's front was covered by coppices and ditches, there being a rising ground on his right, from whence he could plainly discern the whole force that advanced against him, together with the manner of their approach. Perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he posted one regiment in a coppice, with orders to fall upon the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as soon as their fire began, advanced with the rest of his forces to attack them in front. The bayonet was used on this occasion, and the charge given with such impetuosity and resolution, that after a short resistance, the enemy fell into confusion, and fled towards Wesel, leaving on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages: besides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty considerable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four prisoners, including eleven officers; whereas, on his part, the victory was purchased at a very small expense.

§ XXIX. Immediately after this action, General



## BOOK

III.

1758.

Wangenheim passed the Rhine with several squadrons and battalions, to re-enforce General Imhoff, and enable him to prosecute the advantage he had gained, while Prince Ferdinand marched with the rest of the army to Santen: from thence he proceeded to Rhineberg, where he intended to pass; but the river had overflowed to such a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the shore was inaccessible; so that he found it necessary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Griethuyzen. The enemy had contrived four vessels for the destruction of this bridge; but they were all taken before they could put the design in execution, and the whole army passed on the tenth day of August, without any loss or further interruption. At the same time the prince withdrew his garrison from Dusseldorf, of which the French immediately took possession. Immediately after his passage he received a letter from the Duke of Marlborough, acquainting him that the British troops had arrived at Lingen, in their route to Coesfeld: to which place General Imhoff was sent to receive them, with a strong detachment. Notwithstanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were so equally matched, that no stroke of importance was struck on either side during the remaining part of the campaign. M. de Contades, seeing no prospect of obtaining the least advantage over Prince Ferdinand, detached Prince Xaverius of Saxony with a strong re-enforcement to the Prince de Soubise, who had taken possession of Göttingen, and seemed determined to attack the Prince of Ysenburgh at Eimbeck. That this officer might be able to give



him a proper reception, Prince Ferdinand, detached General Oberg with ten thousand men to Lipstadt, from whence, should occasion require, they might continue their march, and join the Hessians. The whole body, when thus re-enforced, did not exceed twenty thousand men, of whom General Oberg now assumed the command: whereas the troops of Soubise, were increased to the number of thirty thousand. The allies had taken post upon the river Fulde at Sanderhausen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the design of Soubise was first to dislodge them from that advantageous situation. With this view, he made a motion, as if he had intended to turn the camp of the allies by the road of Minden. In order to prevent the execution of this supposed design, General Oberg decamped on the tenth of October, and, passing by the village of Landwernhagen, advanced towards Luttenberg, where, understanding the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith formed his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, where he planted five field-pieces. The cavalry supported the wings in a third line, the village of Luttenberg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a rising ground that flanked this village. The French having likewise passed Landwernhagen, posted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being strengthened with above thirty pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a severe cannonading, and at the same time the first line



**BOOK** of their infantry attacked Major-General Zastrow,  
**III.** who was posted on the left wing of the allies.  
**1758.** This body of the French was repulsed; but in the same moment, a considerable line of cavalry advancing, charged the allies in front and flank. These were supported by a fresh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm dispute, obliged the confederates to give way; and General Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a disposition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he suffered greatly, in passing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up, and managed under the direction of the Duke de Broglie. Having marched through Minden, by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other side of the Weser; but at day-break prosecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garrison from Minden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Gunterstheim, where they encamped. In this engagement General Oberg lost about fifteen hundred men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and straw at Minden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. But, after all, the French general reaped very little advantage from his victory.

§ XXX. By this time Prince Ferdinand had retired into Westphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munster, while M. Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe; so that, although he had obliged



the French army to evacuate Hanover and Hesse in the beginning of the year, when they were weakened by death and distemper, and even driven them beyond the Rhine, where they sustained a defeat; yet they were soon put in a condition to baffle all his future endeavours, and penetrate again into Westphalia, where they established their winter-quarters, extending themselves in such a manner as to command the whole course of the Rhine on both sides, while the allies were disposed in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, and in the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim. The British troops had joined them so late in the season, that they had no opportunity to signalize themselves in the field; yet the fatigues of the campaign, which they had severely felt, proved fatal to their commander, the Duke of Marlborough, who died of a dysentery at Munster, universally lamented.

§ XXXI. Having thus particularized the operations of the allied army since the commencement of the campaign, we shall now endeavour to trace the steps of the King of Prussia, from the period at which his army was assembled for action. Having collected his force as soon as the season would permit, he undertook the siege of Schweidnitz in form, on the twenty-first day of March; and carried on his operations with such vigor, that in thirteen days the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having lost one half of their number in the defence of the place. While one part of his troops were engaged in this service, he himself, at the head of another, advanced to the eastern frontier of Bohemia, and sent a detachment as far as Trautenaw, garrisoned



BOOK

III.

1756.

by a body of Austrians, who, after an obstinate resistance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this success he opened to himself a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raise contributions, and harass the out-posts of the enemy. At the same time the Baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body against the Austrian General Jahnus, posted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon all the posts he occupied in that country, and pursued as far as Nachod, within twenty miles of Kœnigskrætz, where the grand Austrian army was encamped, under the command of Mareschal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna<sup>12</sup>. Over and above these excursions, the King ordered a body of thirty thousand men to be assembled, to act under the command of his brother Prince Henry, an accomplished warrior, against the army of the Empire, which the Prince de Deux-ponts, with great difficulty, made a shift to form again near Bamberg, in Franconia.

§ XXXII. The King of Prussia, whose designs were perhaps even greater than he cared to own, resolved to shift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto

<sup>12</sup> At this juncture the Prussian commandant of Dresden being admitted into the Japan-palace, to see the curious porcelaine with which it is adorned, perceived a door built up; and ordering the passage to be opened, entered a large apartment, where he found three thousand tents, and other field-utensils. These had been concealed here when the Prussians first took possession of the city: they were immediately seized by the commandant, and distributed among the troops of Prince Henry's army.



been kept sacred from ravage and contribution. Having formed an army of fifty thousand choicetroops, near Niefs, in Silesia, he divided them into three columns; the first commanded by Marechal Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third conducted by Prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. In the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and General De la Ville, who commanded a body of troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having thrown a strong reinforcement into Olmutz, which the King was determined to besiege. Had he passed by this fortress, which was strongly fortified, and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Vienna, and reduced the Emperor to the necessity of suing for peace on his own terms; but it seems he was unwilling to deviate so far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in the rear; and, therefore, he determined to make himself master of it before he should proceed. For this purpose it was immediately invested: orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery, and Marechal Keith was appointed to superintend and direct the operations of the siege. Mean while, the Austrian commander, Count Daun, being informed of his Prussian Majesty's motions and designs, quitted his camp at Leutomysfel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being still too weak to encounter the Prussians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the King's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous situation, where he ran little or no risk of being attacked.

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



B O O K

III.

1758.

Here he remained for some time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he drew plentiful supplies, and received daily reinforcements. His scheme was to relieve the besieged occasionally, to harass the besiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Silesia; and this scheme succeeded to his wish. Olmutz is so extensive in its works, and so peculiarly situated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely invested without weakening the posts of the besieging army, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; so that, in some parts, they were easily forced by detachments in the nights, who fell upon them suddenly, and seldom failed to introduce into the place supplies of men, provisions, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood of the city having been previously destroyed, the Prussian horse were obliged to make excursions at a great distance, consequently exposed to fatigue, and liable to surprise; and, in a word, the Prussians were not very expert in the art of town-taking.

§ XXXIII. Count Daun knew how to take advantage of these circumstances, without hazarding a battle, to which the King provoked him in vain. While the garrison made repeated sallies to retard the operations of the besiegers, the Austrian general harassed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheless, the King finished his first parallel; and proceeded with such vigor as seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the place, when his design was entirely frustrated by an



untoward incident. Mareſchal Daun, having received intelligence that a large convoy had ſet out from Sileſia for the Pruſſian camp, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of compelling the King to deſiſt from his enterpriſe. He ſent General Jahnus, with a ſtrong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with inſtructions to attack the convoy on different ſides; while he himſelf advanced towards the beſiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. The King of Pruſſia, far from being deceived by this feint, began, from the motions of the Auſtrian general, to ſuſpect his real ſcheme, and immediately diſpatched General Ziethen, with a ſtrong re-enforcement, to protect the convoy, which was eſcorted by eight battalions, and about four thouſand men, who had been ſick, and were juſt recovered. Before this officer joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the twenty-eighth day of June; but the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Mareſchal Daun, however, took care that they ſhould be immediately re-enforced; and next day the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions, and about one thouſand troopers, had juſt paſſed the defiles of Domſtadt, when the Auſtrians charged them furiouſly on every ſide: the communication between the head and the reſt of the convoy was cut off; and General Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preſervation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Tropau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the enemy, who took above ſix hundred priſoners,



B O O K

III.

1758.

together with General Putkammer; and the King of Prussia was obliged to relinquish his enterprize. This was a mortifying necessity to a prince of his high spirit, at a time when he saw himself on the eve of reducing the place, notwithstanding the gallant defence which had been made by General Marshal, the governor. Nothing now remained but to raise the siege, and retire without loss in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage: a task which, how hard soever it may appear, he performed with equal dexterity and success. Instead of retiring into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from his own dominions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by Mareschal Daun's last motion, when he advanced his quarters to Pofnitz, in order to succour Olmutz the more effectually. After the King had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the enemy, and, notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, prosecuted the operations of the siege with redoubled vigor, till the first day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. He himself, with one division, took the road to Konitz; and Mareschal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars, and one disabled cannon, pursued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau. Although his Prussian Majesty had gained an entire march upon the Austrians, their light troops, commanded by the Generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harass his army in their retreat; but their endeavours were in a great measure



frustrated by the conduct and circumspection of the Prussian commanders. After the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Krenau, General Laschi, who was posted at Gibau with a large body of Austrian troops occupied the village of Krenau, with a detachment of grenadiers, who were soon dislodged; and the Prussians pursued their march by Zwittau to Leutomysfel, where they seized a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, General de Ratzow, who conducted the provisions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz possessed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he advanced; but Marechal Keith coming up, ordered him to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loss of six officers and three hundred men, who were taken prisoners. While the Marechal was thus employed, the King proceeded from Leutomysfel to Kœnigskrætz, where General Buccow, who had got the start of him, was posted with seven thousand men behind the Elbe, and in the intrenchments which they had thrown up all round the city. The Prussian troops as they arrived passed over the little river Adler, and as the enemy had broken down the bridges over the Elbe, the King ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being determined to attack the Austrian intrenchments: but General Buccow did not wait for his approach. He abandoned his intrenchments, and retired with his troops to Clumetz; so that the King took possession of the most important post of Kœnigskrætz without further opposition. An Austrian corps having taken post between him and Hollitz, in order to obstruct



B O O K

III.

1758.

the march of the artillery, he advanced against them in person, and having driven them from the place, all his cannon, military stores, provision, with fifteen hundred sick and wounded men, arrived in safety at Kœnigskrætz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to transfer the seat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he should be able to maintain a more easy communication with his own dominions: but a more powerful motive soon obliged him to change his resolution.

§ XXXIV. After the Russian troops under Apraxin had retreated from Pomerania in the course of the preceding year, and the Czarina seemed ready to change her system, the courts of Vienna and Versailles had, by dint of subsidies, promises, presents, and intrigues, attached her, in all appearance, more firmly than ever to the confederacy, and even induced her to augment the number of troops destined to act against the Prussian monarch. She not only signed her accession in form to the quadruple alliance with the Empress - Queen and the Kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to manifest her zeal to the common cause, she disgraced her chancellor, Count Bestuchef, who was supposed averse to the war: she divided her forces into separate bodies, under the command of the Generals Fermer and Browne, and ordered them to put their troops in motion in the middle of winter. Fermer accordingly began his march in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-second his light troops took possession of Kœnigsberg, the capital of Prussia, without opposition; for the King's forces had quitted that country,  
in



in order to prosecute the war in the western parts of Pomerania. They did not, however, maintain themselves in this part of the country; but, after having ravaged some districts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Vistula, to the no small disturbance of the city of Dantzick. The resident of the Czarina actually demanded that the magistrates should receive a Russian garrison: a demand which they not only peremptorily refused, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to provide for their defence. At length, after some negociation with General Fermer, the affair was compromised: he desisted from the demand, and part of his troops passed the Vistula, seemingly to invade Pomerania, in the eastern part of which Count Dohna had assembled an army of Prussians to oppose their progress. But after they had pillaged the open country, they rejoined their main body; and General Fermer, turning to the left, advanced towards Silesia, in order to co-operate with the other Russian army commanded by Browne, who had taken his route through Poland, and already passed the Posna. By the first of July, both bodies had reached the frontiers of Silesia, and some of their Cossacks, penetrating into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with consternation. Count Dohna, with the Prussian army under his command, had attended their motions, and even passed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he had intended to give them battle: but he was too much inferior in number to hazard such a step, which became an object of his sovereign's own personal attention. Marschal Daun had followed

CHAP.

IX.

1758



BOOK

III.

1758.

the King into Bohemia, and, on the twenty-second day of July, encamped on the hills of Libischau, a situation almost inaccessible, where he resolved to remain, and watch the motions of the Prussian monarch, until some opportunity should offer of acting to advantage. Nature seems to have expressly formed this commander with talents to penetrate the designs, embarrass the genius, and check the impetuosity of the Prussian monarch. He was justly compared to Fabius Maximus, distinguished by the epithet of Cunctator. He possessed all the vigilance, caution, and sagacity of that celebrated Roman. Like him, he hovered on the skirts of the enemy, harassing their parties, accustoming the soldiers to strict discipline, hard service, and the face of a formidable foe, and watching for opportunities which he knew how to seize with equal courage and celerity.

§ XXXV. The King of Prussia, being induced by a concurrence of motives to stop the progress of the Russians in Silesia, made his dispositions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth day of July quitted the camp at Kœnigskrætz. He was attended in his march by three thousand Austrian light troops, who did not fail to incommode his rear: but notwithstanding these impediments, he passed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the ninth day of August arrived at Landsbut. From thence he hastened with a detachment towards Frankfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by Lieutenant-General Dohna at Gorgas. Then the whole army passed the Oder by a bridge thrown over it at Gatavise, and having rested one day, advanced to Dertmitzel, where he encamped. The Russians,



under General Fermer, were posted on the other side of the little river Mitzel, their right extending to the village of Zwicker, and their left to Quertchem. The King being determined to hazard a battle, passed the Mitzel on the twenty-fifth in the morning, and turning the flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zorndorf. The Russians, by whom he was outnumbered, did not decline the dispute; but as the ground did not permit them to extend themselves, they appeared in four lines, forming a front on every side, defended by cannon and chevaux-de-frise, their right flank covered by the village of Zwicker. After a warm cannonade, the Prussian infantry were ordered to attack the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the assault; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occasioned a considerable opening in the line, and left the whole left flank of the infantry uncovered. Before the enemy could take advantage of this incident, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of General Seydlitz; and the King, with his usual presence of mind substituted another choice body of troops to carry on the attack. This began about noon, and continued for some time, during which both sides fought with equal courage and perseverance: at length General Seydlitz, having routed the Russian cavalry, fell upon the flank of the infantry with great fury, which being also dreadfully annoyed by the Prussian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military chest, and great part of their baggage. Notwithstanding this loss, which had greatly disordered their right wing,



BOOK

III.

1758.

they continued to stand their ground, and terrible havoc was made among them, not only with the sword and bayonet, but also by the cannon, which were loaded with grape-shot, and being excellently served, did great execution. Towards evening the confusion among them increased to such a degree, that in all probability they would have been entirely routed, had they not been favored by the approaching darkness, as well as by a particular operation which was very gallantly performed. One of the Russian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned against them, rallied a select body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prussians. This effort diverted their attention so strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a respite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new post on the right, where the rest of their forces were the more easily assembled. In this battle they are said to have lost above fifteen thousand men, thirty-seven colors, five standards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the prisoners that fell into the hands of the victor, were several general officers, and a good number lost their lives on the field of battle. The victory cost the King above two thousand men, including some officers of distinction, particularly two aides-de-camp, who attended his own person, which he exposed without scruple to all the perils of the day. It would have redounded still more to his glory, had he put a stop to the carnage; for after all resistance was at an end, the wretched Russians were hewn down without mercy. It must be owned, indeed, that the



Prussian soldiers were in a peculiar manner exasperated against this enemy, because they had laid waste the country, burned the villages, ruined the peasants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of war could not authorize". The

CHAP.

IX.

1758.

" A detail of the cruelties committed by those barbarians cannot be read without horror. They not only burned a great number of villages, but they ravished, rifled, murdered, and mutilated the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal lust and wantonness of barbarity. They even violated the sepulchres of the dead, which have been held sacred among the most savage nations. At Camin and Breckholtz they forced open the graves and sepulchral vaults, and stripped the bodies of the Generals Schlaberndorf and Ruitz, which had been deposited there. But the collected force of their vengeance was discharged against Custrin, the capital of the New Marche of Brandenburg, situated at the conflux of the Warta and the Oder, about fifteen English miles from Frankfort. The particulars of the disaster that befell this city are pathetically related in the following extracts from a letter written by an inhabitant and eye-witness.

" On the thirteenth of August, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a sudden report was spread that a body of Russian hussars and Cossacks appeared in sight of the little suburb. All the people were immediately in motion, and the whole city was filled with terror, especially as we were certainly informed that the whole Russian army was advancing from Meßerick and Koenigswalda, by the way of Landsberg. A re-enforcement was immediately sent to our piquet-guard in the suburb, amounting, by this junction, to three hundred men, who were soon attacked by the enemy, and the skirmish lasted from four till seven o'clock in the evening. During this dispute, we could plainly perceive, from our ramparts and church-steeple, several persons of distinction, mounted on English horses, reconnoitring our fortification through perspective glasses. They retired, however, when our cannon began to fire; then our piquet took possession



BOOK III. 1758. Prussian army passed the night under arms, and next morning the cannonade was renewed against the

of their former post in the suburb; and the re-enforcement we had sent from the city returned, after having broke down the bridge over the Oder. Next day Count Dohna, who commanded the army near Frankfort, sent in a re-enforcement of four battalions, ten squadrons, and a small body of hussars, under the command of Lieutenant-General Scherlemmer. The hussars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet of the little suburb: the four battalions pitched their tents on the Anger, between the suburb and the fortification; and the rest of the dragoons remained in the field, to cover the long suburb. General Scherlemmer, attended by our governor, Colonel Schuck, went with a small party to observe the enemy; but were obliged to retire, and were pursued by the Cossacks to the walls of the city. Between four and five o'clock next morning the poor inhabitants were roused from their sleep by the noise of the cannon, intermingled with the dismal shrieks and hideous yellings of the Cossacks belonging to the Russian army. Alarmed at this horrid noise, I ascended the church-steeple, from whence I beheld the whole plain, extending from the little suburb to the forest, covered with the enemy's troops, and our light-horse, supported by the infantry, engaged in different places with their irregulars. At eight I descried a body of the enemy's infantry, whose van consisted of four or five thousand men, advancing towards the vineyard, in the neighbourhood of which they had raised occasional batteries in the preceding evening: from these they now played on our piquet-guard and hussars, who were obliged to retire. They then fired, *en ricochet*, on the tents and baggage of the four battalions encamped on the Anger, who were also compelled to retreat. Having thus cleared the environs, they threw into the city such a number of bombs and red-hot bullets, that by nine in the morning it was set on fire in three different places; and the streets being narrow, burned with such fury, that all our endeavours to extinguish it proved ineffectual. At this time the whole atmosphere appeared like a shower of fiery rain and hail; and the miserable inhabitants thought of nothing but saving their lives by running into the open fields. The whole



enemy, who, nevertheless, maintained that position, without flinching. On the twenty-seventh, they

CHAP.

IX.

1758.

place was filled with terror and consternation and resounded with the shrieks of women and children, who ran about in the utmost distraction, exposed to the shot and the bomb-shells, which, bursting, tore in pieces every thing that stood in their way. As I led my wife, with a young child in her arms, and drove the rest of my children and servants half-naked before me, those instruments of death and devastation fell about us like hail; but, by the mercy of God, we all escaped unhurt. Nothing could be more melancholy and affecting than a sight of the wretched people, flying in crowds, and leaving their all behind, while they rent the sky with their lamentations. Many women of distinction I saw without shoes and stockings, and almost without clothes, who had been roused from their beds, and ran out naked into the streets. When my family had reached the open plain I endeavoured to return, and save some of my effects; but I could not force my way through a multitude of people, thronging out at the gate, some sick and bed-ridden persons being carried on horseback and in carriages, and others conveyed on the backs of their friends, through a most dreadful scene of horror and desolation. A great number of families from the open country, and defenceless towns in Prussia and Pomerania, had come hither for shelter with their most valuable effects, when the Russians first entered the king's territories. These, as well as the inhabitants, are all ruined; and many, who a few days ago possessed considerable wealth, are now reduced to the utmost indigence. The neighbouring towns and villages were soon crowded with the people of Custrin: the roads were filled with objects of misery: and nothing was seen but nakedness and despair; nothing heard but the cries of hunger, fear, and distraction. For my own part, I stayed all night at Golz, and then proceeded for Berlin. Custrin is now a heap of ruins. The great magazine, the governor's house, the church, the palace, the store and artillery-houses, in a word, the old and new towns, the suburbs, and all the bridges, were reduced to ashes: nay, after the ashes were destroyed, the piles and sterlings were burned to the water's edge. The writings of all the colleges, together with the archives of the country,



BOOK

III.

1758.

seemed determined to hazard another action, and even attack the conquerors: instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landsberg; but afterwards turned off towards Vietzel, and posted themselves between the river Warta and that village. Immediately after the battle, General Fermer<sup>1</sup>, who had received a slight wound in the action, sent a trumpet, with a letter to Lieutenant-General Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded; and presenting to his Prussian Majesty the humble request of General Browne, who was much weakened with the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by which he might pass with his baggage, and the stores which were totally consumed, together with a prodigious magazine of corn and flour, valued at some millions of crowns. The cannon in the arsenal were all melted; and the loaded bombs and cartridges, with a large quantity of gun-powder, went off at once with a most horrible explosion. A great number of the inhabitants are missing, supposed to have perished in the flames, or under the ruins of the houses, or to have been suffocated in subterraneous vaults and caverns, to which they had fled for safety."

Nothing could be more inhuman, or contrary to the practice of a generous enemy, than such vengeance wreaked upon the innocent inhabitants; for the Russians did not begin to batter the fortifications until all the rest of the place was destroyed. In the course of this campaign, the Russian Cossacks are said to have plundered and burned fourteen large towns and two hundred villages, and wantonly butchered above two thousand defenceless women and children. Such monsters of barbarity ought to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beasts, without pity or cessation. What infamy ought those powers to incur, who employ and encourage such ruthless barbarians.

<sup>1</sup> General Fermer was of Scottish extract, and General Browne actually a native of North-Britain.



virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he should find such accommodation as his situation required. In answer to this message, Count Dohna gave the Russian general to understand, that as his Prussian Majesty remained master of the field, he would give the necessary orders for interring the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both sides: he refused a suspension of arms, but granted the request of General Browne; and concluded his letter, by complaining of the outrages which the Russian troops still continued to commit, in pillaging and burning the King's villages.

CHAP.

IX.

1759.

§ XXXVI. The King of Prussia had no sooner repulsed the enemy in one quarter than his presence was required in another. When he quitted Bohemia, Mareschal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the Prince de Deux-ponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to surround the King's brother Prince Henry, who, without immediate succour, would not have been able to preserve his footing in Saxony. The Prussian monarch, therefore, determined to support him with all possible expedition. In a few days after the battle, he began his march from Custrin with a re-enforcement of twenty-four battalions and great part of his cavalry, and pursued his route with such unwearied diligence, that by the fifth day of September he reached Torgau, and on the eleventh joined his brother. Mareschal Daun had posted himself at Stolpen, to the eastward of the Elbe, in order to preserve an easy communication with the army of the empire encamped in the neighbourhood of Kœnigstein, to favor the operations of General



BOOK  
III.  
1758.

Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the frontiers of Brandenburg; to make a diversion from the southern part of Silesia, where a body of Austrian troops acted under the command of the Generals Harsche and de Ville; and to interrupt the communication between Prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth day of September, the garrison in the strong fortrefs of Kœnigstein surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after a very feeble resistance, to the Prince de Deux-ponts, who forthwith took possession of the strong camp at Pirna. When the King of Prussia, therefore, arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the empire in this position, and Mareschal Daun in a still stronger situation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe, so that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage. He had no other resolution to take but that of endeavouring to cut them off from supplies of provision, and with this view he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied. This motion obliged the Austrian general to quit his camp at Stolpen, but he chose another of equal strength at Libau; yet he afterwards advanced to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to seize the first favorable occasion of executing the resolution he had formed to attack the Prussians. The King having detached General Ratzow on his left, to take possession of Weissenberg, marched forwards with the body of his army, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having dislodged the Austrians from that village. Matters were now brought to such a delicate crisis, that a battle seemed



inevitable, and equally desired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Austrians should be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this situation Marechal Daun resolved to act offensively, and formed a scheme for attacking the right flank of the Prussians by surprise. This measure was suggested to him by an oversight of the Prussians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important service, well knowing, that should they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Prussian army would be disconcerted, and in all probability entirely ruined. Having taken his measures with wonderful secrecy and circumspection, the troops began to move in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favored by a thick fog, which greatly increased the darkness of the night. Their first care was to take possession of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces the free companies posted there. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued several hours with great fury, for, notwithstanding the impetuous efforts of the Austrian troops, and the confusion occasioned among the Prussians by the surprise, a vigorous stand was made by some general officers, who, with admirable expedition and presence of mind, assembled and arranged the troops as they



BOOK

III.

1758.

could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without distinction of regiment, place, or precedence. While the action was obstinately and desperately maintained in this place, amidst all the horrors of darkness, carnage, and confusion, the King being alarmed, exerted all his personal activity, address, and recollection, in drawing regularity from disorder, arranging the different corps, altering positions, re-enforcing weak posts, encouraging the soldiery, and opposing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impression upon the right, by the village of Hochkirchen, Mareschal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the King, made another attack upon the left, which was with difficulty sustained, and effectually prevented him from sending re-enforcements to the right, where Mareschal Keith, under the greatest disadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thus the battle raged till nine in the morning, when this gallant officer was shot through the heart. Prince Francis of Brunswick had met with the same fate; Prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner, and many others were either slain or disabled. As the right wing had been surprised, the tents continued standing, and greatly embarrassed them in their defence. The soldiers had never been properly drawn up in order; the enemy still persevered in their attack with successive re-enforcements and redoubled resolution; and a considerable slaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All these circumstances concurring, could not fail to increase the confusion and disaster of the Prussians; so



that about ten the King was obliged to retire to Dobreschutz, with the loss of seven thousand men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage. Nor had the Austrian general much cause to boast of his victory. His loss of men was pretty near equal to that of the Prussian monarch: and, whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprising prince, certainly his design did not take effect in its full extent, for the Prussians were next day in a condition to hazard another engagement. The King of Prussia had sustained no damage which he could not easily repair, except the death of Mareschal Keith, which was doubtless an irreparable misfortune<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> As very little notice was taken, in the detail published by authority, of any part which this great man acted in the battle of Hochkirchen, and a report was industriously circulated in this kingdom, that he was surprised in his tent, naked, and half asleep, we think it the duty of a candid historian to vindicate his memory and reputation from the foul aspersions thrown by the perfidious and illiberal hand of envious malice, or else contrived to screen some other character from the imputation of misconduct. This task we are enabled to perform by a gentleman of candor and undoubted credit, who learned the following particulars at Berlin from a person that was eye-witness of the whole transaction. Field-Mareschal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, disapproved of the situation of the Prussian army, and remonstrated to the King on that subject. In consequence of his advice, a certain general was sent with a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen; but by some fatality he miscarried. Mareschal Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with Prince Francis of Brunswick, in a house belonging to a Saxon major. When the first alarm was given in the night, he instantly mounted his horse, assembled a body of the nearest troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Austrians had taken possession of the hill which the Prus-



BOOK

III.

1758.

§ XXXVII. His Prussian Majesty remained with his army ten days at Dobreschutz, during which he

sian officer was sent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon: then they made themselves masters of the village in which the free companies of Anginelli had been posted. Marechal Keith immediately conceived the design of the Austrian general, and knowing the importance of this place, thither directed all his efforts. He in person led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his men returned to the charge, and regained possession of the place: being again repulsed by fresh re-enforcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be set on fire. Thus he kept the Austrians at bay, and maintained a desperate conflict against the flower of the Austrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the Prussians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat. During the whole dispute he rallied the troops in person, charged at their head, and exposed his life in the hottest of a dreadful fire, like a private captain of grenadiers. He found it necessary to exert himself in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confusion that prevailed, and in order to inspire the troops to their utmost exertion by his voice, presence, and example. Even when dangerously wounded, at eight in the morning, he refused to quit the field; but continued to signalize himself in the midst of the carnage until nine, when he received a second shot in his breast, and fell speechless into the arms of Mr. Tibay, an English volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. This gentleman who was likewise wounded, applied to a Prussian officer for a file of men to remove the marechal, being uncertain whether he was entirely deprived of life. His request was granted; but the soldiers, in advancing to the spot, were countermanded by another officer. He afterwards spoke on the same subject to one of the Prussian generals, a German prince, as he chanced to pass on horseback: when Mr. Tibay told him the field-marechal was lying wounded on the field, he asked if his



endeavoured to bring the Austrians to a second engagement, but Count Daun declined the invitation, and kept his forces advantageously posted on eminences planted with artillery. His aim having been frustrated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his side, he would not hazard another battle upon equal terms, with such an enterprising enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had received, already re-enforced from the army of Prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to retrieve the laurel which had been snatched from him by the wiles of stratagem, rather than by the hand of valor. Count Daun having nothing more to hope

wounds were mortal; and the other answering he was afraid they were, the prince shrugged up his shoulders, and rode off without further question. The body of this great officer, being thus shamefully abandoned, was soon stripped by the Austrian stragglers, and lay exposed and undistinguished on the field of battle. In this situation it was perceived by Count Laschy, son of the general of that name, with whom Mareschal Keith had served in Russia. This young count had been the mareschal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Austrian service. He recognised the body by the large scar of a dangerous wound, which General Keith had received in his thigh at the siege of Ockzakow, and could not help bursting into tears to see his honored master thus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeless, and deserted corpse. He forthwith caused the body to be covered, and interred. It was afterwards taken up, and decently buried by the curate of Hochkirchen; and, finally, removed to Berlin by order of the King of Prussia, who bestowed upon it those funeral honors that were due to the dignified rank and transcendent merit of the deceased; merit so universally acknowledged, that even the Saxons lamented him as their best friend and patron, who protected them from violence and outrage, even while he acted a principal part in subjecting them to the dominion of his sovereign.



BOOK

III.

1758.

from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amusing the Prussian monarch in Lusatia, while the Austrian generals, Harsche and de Ville, should prosecute the reduction of Neiss and Cosel, in Silesia, which they now actually invested. As the Prussian monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against him in different parts of his dominions, he resolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and if possible to raise the siege of Neiss in person. With this view he decamped from Dobreschutz, and in sight of the enemy marched to Gorlitz without the least interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Silesia with his usual expedition, notwithstanding all the endeavours and activity of General Laudohn, who harassed the rear of the Prussians, and gained some petty advantages over them. Count Daun not only sent this detached corps to retard them in their march, but at the same time, by another route, detached a strong re-enforcement to the army of the besiegers. In the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of Prince Henry in Saxony was considerably weakened, he himself marched thither, in hopes of expelling the Prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the King's absence. Indeed, his designs were still more extensive, for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipstick, and Torgau at the same time; the first with the main body under his own direction, the second by the army of the Empire under the Prince de Deux-ponts, and the third by a corps under General Haddick, while the forces directed by Laudohn should exclude the King



King from Lusatia. In execution of this plan he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna, and advanced to Dresden, which he hoped would surrender without putting him to the trouble of a formal siege. The army of Prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital, before the Prince de Deux-ponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipzick, and even invested that city. During these transactions, General Haddick advanced against Torgau.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1758.

§ XXXVIII. The Field-Mareschal Count Daun appearing on the sixth day of November within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions, which were posted at Striessen and Gruenewiese. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amounting to ten thousand men, apprehensive that, in the course of skirmishing, the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs pellmell, posted Colonel Itzenplitz, with seven hundred men, in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they might support the irregulars: at the same time, as the houses that constituted the suburbs were generally so high as to overlook the ramparts, and command the city, he prepared combustibles and gave notice to the magistrates that they would be set on fire as soon as an Austrian should appear within the place. This must have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which compose one of the most elegant towns in Europe. In these houses, which

VOL .VII.

H





BOOK

III.

1758,

were generally lofty and magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people resided, and here a number of artists carried on a variety of curious manufactures. In vain the magistrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Prussian governor, and represented, in the most submissive strain, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they should be exempted from the horrors of devastation. In vain the royal family, who remained at Dresden, conjured him to spare that last refuge of distressed royalty, and allow them at least a secure residence, since they were deprived of every other comfort. He continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his master, which indeed he could not disobey with any regard to his own safety. On the ninth day of November, about noon, the Austrian vanguard attacked the advanced post of the garrison, repelled the hussars, drove the independent battalions into the suburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor expecting a vigorous attack next day, recalled his troops within the city, after they had set fire to the suburbs. At three in the morning the signal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to ashes the beautiful suburbs of Pirna, which had so lately flourished as the seat of gaiety, pleasure, and the ingenious arts. Every bosom warmed with benevolence must be affected at the recital of such calamities. It excites not only our compassion for the unhappy sufferers, but also our resentment against the perpetrators of such enormity. Next day Mareschal



Daun sent an officer to Count Schmettau, with a message, expressing his surprise at the destruction of the suburbs in a royal residence, an act of inhumanity unheard of among Christians. He desired to know if it was by the governor's order this measure was taken, and assured him, that he should be responsible, in his person, for whatever outrages had been or might be committed against a place in which a royal family resided. Schmettau gave him to understand that he had orders to defend the town to the last extremity, and that the preservation of what remained depended entirely on the conduct of his excellency; for, should he think proper to attack the place, he (the governor) would defend himself from house to house, and from street to street, and even make his last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city. He excused the destruction of the suburbs as a necessary measure, authorized by the practice of war; but he would have found it a difficult task to reconcile this step to the laws of eternal justice, and far less to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if the scene had happened in an enemy's country, or if no other step could have saved the lives and liberties of himself and his garrison, such a desperate remedy might have stood excused by the law of nature and of nations: but on this occasion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exercise no other power and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all reduced to the necessity of sacrificing the place to his own safety, inasmuch as he might have retired



BOOK

III.

1758.

unmolested, by virtue of an honorable capitulation, which, however, he did not demand. Whether the peremptory order of a superior will, *in foro conscientiae*, justify an officer who hath committed an illegal or inhuman action, is a question that an English reader will scarce leave to the determination of a German casuist with one hundred and fifty thousand armed men in his retinue. Be this as it will, Mr. Ponickau, the Saxon minister, immediately after this tragedy was acted, without waiting for his master's orders, presented a memorial to the Diet of the Empire, complaining of it as an action reserved for the history of the war which the King of Prussia had kindled in Germany, to be transmitted to future ages. He affirmed, that, in execution of Schmettau's orders the soldiers had dispersed themselves in the streets of the Pirna and Witten suburbs, broke open the houses and shops, set fire to the combustibles, added fresh fuel, and then shut the doors; that the violence of the flames was kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houses, and along the streets; that the wretched inhabitants, who forsook their burning houses, were slain by the fire of the cannon and small arms; that those who endeavoured to save their persons and effects were pushed down and destroyed by the bayonets of the Prussian soldiers posted in the streets for that purpose: he enumerated particular instances of inhuman barbarity, and declared that a great number of people perished, either amidst the flames, or under the ruins of the houses. The destruction of two hundred and fifty elegant houses, and the total ruin of the inhabitants, were circumstances in



themselves so deplorable, as to need no aggravation : CHAP.  
but the account of the Saxon minister was shamefully IX.  
exaggerated, and all the particular instances of 1758.  
cruelty false in every circumstance. Baron Plotho,  
the minister of Brandenburg, did not fail to answer  
every article of the Saxon memorial, and refute the  
particulars therein alledged, in a fair detail, authen-  
ticated by certificates under the hands of the  
magistrates, judges, and principal inhabitants of  
Dresden. The most extraordinary part of his defence  
or vindication was the conclusion, in which the  
Baron solemnly assured the Diet, that the King of  
Prussia, from his great love to mankind, always felt  
the greatest emotion of soul, and the most exquisite  
concern, at the effusion of blood, the devastation  
of cities and countries, and the horrors of war, by  
which so many thousand fellow-creatures were  
overwhelmed; and that if his sincere and honest  
inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear  
country, had met with the least regard, the present  
war, attended with such bloodshed and desolation,  
would have been prevented and avoided. He, there-  
fore, declared that those who excited the present  
troubles, who, instead of extinguishing, threw oil  
upon the flames, must answer to God for the seas of  
blood that had been, and would be shed, for the  
devastation of so many countries, and the entire ruin  
of so many innocent individuals. Such declarations  
cost nothing to those hardened politicians, who,  
feeling no internal check, are determined to  
sacrifice every consideration to the motives of  
rapacity and ambition. It would be happy, however,



**BOOK** for mankind, were princes taught to believe that  
**III.** there is really an omnipotent and all-judging power,  
**1758.** that will exact a severe account of their conduct, and  
punish them for their guilt, without any respect to  
their persons; that pillaging a whole people is more  
cruel than robbing a single person; and that the  
massacre of thousands is, at least, as criminal as a  
private murder.

§ XXXIX. While Count Daun was employed in  
making a fruitless attempt upon the capital of Saxony,  
the King of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neiss,  
which was completely invested on the third day of  
October. The operations of the siege were carried  
on with great vigor by the Austrian general, de  
Harsche, and the place was as vigorously defended  
by the Prussian governor, Theskau, till the first day  
of November, when the Prussian monarch approach-  
ed, and obliged the besiegers to abandon their enter-  
prise. M. de Harsche having raised the siege, the King  
detached General Fouquet with a body of troops  
across the river Neiss, and immediately the blockade  
of Cosel was likewise abandoned. De Harsche retired  
to Bohemia, and de Ville hovered about Jægerndorf.  
The fortress of Neiss was no sooner relieved than the  
King of Prussia began his march on his return to  
Saxony, where his immediate presence was required.  
At the same time, the two bodies under the Generals  
Dohna and Wedel penetrated by different routes  
into that country. The former had been left at  
Custrin, to watch the motions of the Russians,  
who had by this time retreated to the Vistula,  
and even crossed that river at Thorn, and the



other had, during the campaign, observed the Swedes, who had now entirely evacuated the Prussian territories, so that Wedel was at liberty to co-operate with the King in Saxony. He accordingly marched to Torgau, the siege of which had been undertaken by the Austrian general, Haddick, who was repulsed by Wedel, and even pursued to the neighbourhood of Eulenburg. Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with considerable loss, and then raised the siege of Leipzick. Mean while, the King prosecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Austrian troops, under Laudohn, who retreated to Zittau. On the tenth day of November Count Daun retired from Dresden, and with the army of the Empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the King arrived in that city, where he approved of the governor's conduct. The Russian general foreseeing that he should not be able to maintain his ground during the winter in Pomerania, unless he could secure some sea-port on the Baltick, by which he might be supplied with provisions, detached General Palmbach, with fifteen thousand men, to besiege the town of Colberg, an inconsiderable place, very meanly fortified. It was accordingly invested on the third day of October; but the besiegers were either so ill provided with proper implements, or so little acquainted with operations of this nature, that the garrison, though feeble, maintained the place against all their attacks for six-and-twenty days; at the expiration of which they abandoned their enterprize, and cruelly ravaged the open country



BOOK

III.

1758.

in their retreat. Thus, by the activity and valor of the Prussian monarch, his generals, and officers, six sieges were raised almost at the same period, namely, those of Colberg, Neiss, Cosel, Torgau, Leipzick, and Dresden.

§ XL. The variety of fortune which the King of Prussia experienced in the course of this campaign was very remarkable; but the spirit of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether without example. In the former campaign we were dazzled with the lustre of his victories; in this we admire his fortitude and skill in stemming the different torrents of adversity, and rising superior to his evil fortune. One can hardly without astonishment recollect, that in the course of a few months he invaded Moravia, invested Olmutz, and was obliged to relinquish that design; that he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it harassed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of a hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him; that, in spite of his disaster at Olmutz, and the difficulties of such a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Kœnigskrætz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Russians, and returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Austrian and Imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he lost two of his best generals, and was obliged to leave his tents standing, he baffled the vigilance and superior number of the victorious army, rushed like a whirlwind to the relief of Silesia, invaded by an Austrian army,



which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the same rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more rescued it from the hands of his adversaries; that in one campaign he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his possessions entire against the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of consummate skill and undaunted resolution. His character would have been still more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage; but in this particular we can not applaud his conduct. Incensed by the persecuting spirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on those who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Russians had committed in his dominions were retaliated upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony. In the latter end of September, the president of the Prussian military directory sent a letter to the magistrates of Leipfick, requiring them in the King's name to pay a new contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one-third part, on pain of military execution. In answer to this demand the magistrates represented that the city having been exhausted by the enormous contributions already raised, was absolutely incapable of furnishing further supplies; that the trade was stagnated and ruined, and the inhabitants so impoverished, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonstrance made no impression. At five in the morning the Prussian soldiers assembled, and were posted in all the streets, squares, market-places,



BOOK  
III.  
1758.

cemeteries, towers, and steeples; then the gates being shut, in order to exclude the populace of the suburbs from the city, the senators were brought into the town-hall, and accosted by General Hauss, who told them the king his master would have money; and if they refused to part with it, the city should be plundered. To this peremptory address they replied to this effect: "We have no more money — we have nothing left but life; and we recommend ourselves to the King's mercy." In consequence of this declaration, dispositions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in all the streets, the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every house resounded with dismal cries and lamentations. The dreaded pillage, however, was converted into a regular exaction. A party of soldiers, commanded by a subaltern, went from house to house, signifying to every burgher that he should produce all his specie, on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without further hesitation. About six in the evening, the soldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were detained in confinement, and all the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and consternation. Happy Britain, who knowest such grievances only by report! When the King of Prussia first entered Saxony, at the beginning of the war, he declared he had no design to make a conquest of that electorate, but only to keep it as a depositum for the security of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquiesce in reasonable terms of peace; but upon



his last arrival at Dresden he adopted a new resolution. In the beginning of December the Prussian directory of war issued a decree to the deputies of the states of the electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly settled; at the same time signifying, that though the King of Prussia had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that for the future he would consider it in no other light than that of a conquered country. The Russians had seized in Prussia all the estates and effects belonging to the King's officers: a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who served in the Russian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy-counsellors of his Polish Majesty, and they themselves ordered to depart for Warsaw at a very short warning. Though the city had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately subjected to military execution, the King of Prussia demanded fresh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of severities that shock humanity. He surrounded the exchange with soldiers, and confining the merchants to straw-beds and naked apartments, obliged them to draw bills for very large sums on their foreign correspondents: a method of proceeding much more suitable to the despotism of a Persian Sophi towards a conquered people who professed a different faith, than reconcileable to the character of a protestant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



BOOK  
III.  
1758.

neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been subdued with arms in their hands, the excesses of war on the side of the conqueror ought to have ceased with the hostilities of the conquered, who, by submitting to his sway, would have become his subjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had espoused no quarrel, the barbarities committed by the Russians, with whom he was actually at war, and to treat as a conquered province a neutral country, which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms, was a species of conduct founded on pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reason.

§ XLI. Having recorded all the transactions of the campaign, except those in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that we should particularize the progress which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of Count Hamilton. We have already observed, that in the beginning of the year the Prussian general, Lehwald, had compelled them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralsund, which was likewise invested. This, in all probability, would have been besieged in form, had not Lehwald resigned the command of the Prussians, on account of his great age and infirmities; and his successor Count Dohna been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppose the Russian army on the other side of Pomerania. The blockade of Stralsund being consequently raised, and that part of the country entirely



evacuated by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen, to which they had retired: but the supplies and re-enforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in such a manner, either from a deficiency in the subsidies promised by France, or from the management of those who were averse to the war, that great part of the season was elapsed before they undertook any important enterprise. Indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralsund, waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a whole ship-load of gun-powder intended for their use; an event imputed to the practices of the Prussian party in Sweden, which at this period seemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the ministry. At length the re-enforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general seemed determined to act with vigor. In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton having nothing further to oppose him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swedish Pomerania, and even made hot incursions into the Prussian territories. Meanwhile, a combined fleet of thirty-three Russian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltick, and anchored between the islands of Dragoe and Amagh; but they neither landed troops, nor committed hostilities. The Swedish general advanced as far as Fehrbellin, sent out parties that raised

C H A P.

IX.

1758.



B O O K

III.

1758.

contributions within five-and-twenty miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into the utmost consternation. The King of Prussia, alarmed at their progress, dispatched General Wedel from Dresden, with a body of troops that were augmented on their march; so that, on the twentieth of September, he found himself at Berlin with eleven thousand effective men, at the head of whom he proceeded against Count Hamilton, while the Prince of Bevern, with five thousand, advanced on the other side from Stetin. At their approach, the Swedish commander retired, after having left a garrison of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Prussians, and secure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by General Wedel; and though the Swedes disputed the ground from house to house with uncommon obstinacy, he at last drove them out of the town, with the loss of one half of their number either killed or taken prisoners. The body of the Swedish army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Prussian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralsund, intending to take winter-quarters in the isle of Rugen. Count Hamilton, either disgusted at the restrictions he had been laid under, or finding himself unable to act in such a manner as might redound to the advantage of his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and resigned all his other employments.

§ XLII. The King of Prussia was not only favored by a considerable party in Sweden, but he had also raised a strong interest in Poland, among such Palatines as had always opposed the measures of the



reigning family. These were now re-enforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and suspected the designs of the Russian army. The diet of the republic was opened on the second day of November; and, after warm debates, M. Malachowski, was unanimously elected Marechal: but no sooner had the chambers of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raised against the encroachments of the Russian troops, who had taken up their residence in Poland; and heavy complaints were made of the damages sustained from their cruelty and rapine. Great pains were taken to appease these clamors; and many were prevailed upon to refer these grievances to the king in senate; but when this difficulty seemed almost surmounted, Padhorski, the nuncio of Volhinia, stood up, and declared that he would not permit any other point to be discussed in the diet while the Russians maintained the least footing within the territories of the republic. Vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to persuade and mollify this inflexible patriot, he solemnly protested against their proceedings, and hastily withdrew; so that the Marechal was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and recourse was had to a *senatus consilium*, to concert proper measures to be taken in the present conjuncture. The King of Poland was, on this occasion, likewise disappointed in his views of providing for his son, Prince Charles, in the duchy of Courland. He had been recommended by the court of Russia, and even approved by the states of that country; but two difficulties occurred. The states declared they could not proceed



B O O K

III.

1758.

to a new election during the life of their former duke, Count Biron, who was still alive, though a prisoner in Siberia, unless their duchy should be declared vacant by the King and republic of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected, until he should have declared himself of the Augsburgh - confession. His Polish Majesty, however, being determined to surmount all obstacles to his son's interest, ordered Count Malachowski, high chancellor of Poland, to deliver to Prince Charles a diploma, by which the King granted permission to the states of Courland to elect that prince for their duke, and appointed the day for his election and instalment, which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithstanding the clamor of many Polish grandees, who persisted in affirming that the king had no power to grant such permission without the consent of the diet. The vicissitudes of the campaign had produced no revolutions in the several systems adopted by the different powers in Europe. The Czarina, who in the month of June had signified her sentiments and designs against the King of Prussia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign ministers at Petersburg, seemed now, more than ever, determined to act vigorously in behalf of the Empress-Queen of Hungary, and the unfortunate King of Poland, who still resided at Warsaw. The court of Vienna distributed among the Imperial ministers at the several courts of the Empire copies of a rescript, explaining the conduct of her generals since the beginning of the campaign, and concluding with expressions of self-approbation to this effect:



effect: " Though the issue of the campaign be not as yet entirely [satisfactory, and such as might be desired, the Imperial court enjoys, at least, the sincere satisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumstances, it instantly took the most vigorous resolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cause, and is now employed in making preparations, from which the most happy consequences may be expected."

C H A P.

IX.

1758.

§ XLIII. We have already hinted at a decree of the Aulic council of the Empire, published in the month of August, enjoining all directors of circles, all Imperial towns, and the noblesse of the Empire, to transmit to Vienna an exact list of all those who had disobeyed the avocatoria of the Empire, and adhered to the rebellion raised by the Elector of Brandenburg; that their revenues might be sequestered, and themselves punished in their honors, persons, and effects. As the Elector of Hanover was plainly pointed out, and, indeed, expressly mentioned in this decree, the King of Great-Britain, by the hands of Baron Gemmengen, his electoral minister, presented a memorial to the diet of the Empire in the month of November, enumerating the instances in which he had exerted himself, and even exposed his life, for the preservation and aggrandizement of the house of Austria. In return for these important services, he observed, that the Empress-Queen had refused him the assistance stipulated in treaties against an invasion planned by France, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by his friendship to that princess; and his



B O O K

111.

1758.

Imperial Majesty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he solicited: that the court of Vienna had signed a treaty with the crown of France, in which it was stipulated that the French troops should pass the Weser, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the Empress-Queen, who ravaged his Britannic Majesty's dominions with greater cruelty than even the French had practised; and the same Duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the defence of her Imperial Majesty, was obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that very princess, in defence of his father's dominions; that she sent commissaries to Hanover, who shared with the crown of France the contributions extorted from that electorate; rejected all proposals of peace, and dismissed from her court the minister of Brunswick-Lunenburgh: that his Imperial Majesty, who had sworn to protect the Empire, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress any of the states of Germany, afterwards required the King of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that a French army might again have free passage into his German dominions: that the Emperor had recalled these troops, released them from their allegiance to their sovereign, enjoined them to abandon their posts, their colors, and the service in which they were embarked, on pain of being punished in body, honor, and estate; and that the King of England himself was threatened with the ban of the Empire. He took notice, that, in quality of elector,



he had been accused of refusing to concur with the resolutions of the diet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the King of Prussia, joining his troops to the armies of that prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the states of the Empire, sending English forces into Germany, where they had taken possession of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany. In answer to these imputations, he alledged that he could not, consistent with his own safety, or the dictates of common sense, concur with a majority, in joining his troops, which were immediately necessary for his own defence, to those which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led against his friend and ally, the King of Prussia, by a prince who did not belong to the generality of the Empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous conclusum of the Germanic body; that, with respect to his alliance with the King of Prussia, he had a right, when deserted by his former allies, to seek assistance where-soever it could be procured: and surely no just grounds of complaint could be offered against that which his Prussian Majesty lent, to deliver the electoral states of Brunswick, as well as those of Brunswick-Wolfenbittel, Hesse, and Buckeburgh, from the oppressions of their common enemy. Posterity, he said, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Austria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the countries of the Empire, other members of the Germanic body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, should be



BOOK

III.

1758.

threatened with outlawry and sequestration. He owned, that, in quality of king, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and taken possession of Embden; steps for which he was accountable to no power upon earth, although the constitutions of the Empire permit the co-estates to make use of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpose of invasion or conquest in Germany, but for their defence and preservation. He also acknowledged that he had resented the conduct, and chastised the injustice, of those co-estates who had assisted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions; inferring, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the estates of the Duke of Brunswick, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, because they had supplied the King of England with auxiliaries; if the Empress-Queen had a right to appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised by the French King in these countries, surely his Britannic Majesty had an equal right to make those feel the burden of the war who had favored the unjust enterprises of his enemies. He expressed his hope, that the diet, after having duly considered these circumstances, would, by way of advice, propose to his Imperial Majesty that he should annul his most inconsistent mandates, and not only take effectual measures to protect the electorate and its allies, but also give orders for commencing against the Empress-Queen, as archduchess of Austria, the Elector Palatine, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, such proceedings as she wanted to enforce against his Britannic Majesty, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburgh. For this purpose the



minister now requested their excellencies to ask immediately the necessary instructions for their principals. The rest of this long memorial contained a justification of his Britannic Majesty's conduct in deviating from the capitulation of Closter-Seven; with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a retortion of the reproaches levelled against the King of England, in the paper or manifesto composed and published under the direction of the French ministry, and entitled, "A Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England, relative to the Breach of the Capitulation of Closter-Seven by the Hanoverians." But to this invective a more circumstantial answer was published: in which, among other curious particulars, the letter of expostulation, said to have been written by the Prussian monarch to the King of Great-Britain after the defeat at Colin, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by some venal pen employed to impose upon the public. The author also, in his endeavours to demonstrate his Britannic Majesty's aversion to a continental war, very justly observes, that "none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that, without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea. England, therefore, had no interest to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the same reason, there was room to fear that France would embrace a different system: accordingly she took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

declared publicly that a war upon the continent was inevitable; and that the King's dominions in Germany would be its principal object." He afterwards, in the course of his argumentation, adds, "that they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea. In case of a war upon the continent, the two powers must pay subsidies; only with this difference, that France can employ her own land-forces, and aspire at conquests." Such were the professed sentiments of the British ministry, founded upon eternal truth and demonstration, and openly avowed, when the business was to prove that it was not the interest of Great-Britain to maintain a war upon the continent; but, afterwards, when this continental war was eagerly espoused, fostered, and cherished by the blood and treasure of the English nation, then the partisans of that very ministry, which had thus declared that England, without any diversion on the continent of Europe, was an over-match for France by sea, which may be termed the British element; then their partisans, their champions, declaimers, and dependents, were taught to rise in rebellion against their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common sense and reflection, affirm that a diversion in Germany was absolutely necessary to the successful issue of England's operations in Asia, Africa, and America. Notwithstanding all the facts and arguments assembled in this elaborate memorial, to expose the ingratitude of the Empress-Queen, and demonstrate the



oppressive measures adopted by the Imperial power, it remains to be proved, that the member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the resolutions taken, and the decrees published, by the majority of those who compose this community; especially when re-enforced with the authority of the supreme magistrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental constitution on which that community was established.

CHAP.

IX.

1758.

§ XLIV. If the Empress - Queen was not gratified to the extent of her wishes in the fortune of the campaign, at least her self-importance was flattered in another point, which could not fail of being interesting to a princess famed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome. In the month of August the Pope conferred upon her the title of Apostolical Queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he extolled her piety, and launched out into retrospective eulogiums of her predecessors, the princes of Hungary, who had been always accustomed to fight and overcome for the catholic faith under this holy banner. This compliment, however, she did not derive from the regard of Prosper Lambertini, who exercised the papal sway under the assumed name of Benedict XIV. That pontiff, universally esteemed for his good sense, moderation, and humanity, had breathed his last in the month of April, in the eighty-fourth year of his age; and in July was succeeded in the papacy by Cardinal Charles Rezzonico, Bishop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly auditor of the Rota; afterwards promoted to the purple by Pope Clement XII. at the



B O O K

III.

1758.

nomination of the republic of Venice ; was distinguished by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Cœli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated protector of the Pandours, or Illyrians. When he ascended the papal chair, he assumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the last of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a disagreeable person, and even deformed in his body, he enjoyed good health, and a vigorous constitution. As an ecclesiastic, his life was exemplary ; his morals were pure and unimpeached ; in his character he is said to have been learned, diligent, steady, devout, and in every respect worthy to succeed such a predecessor as Benedict.

§ XLV. The King of Spain wisely persisted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partisans at the court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealousy by the conquests which the English had projected in America. The King of Sardinia sagaciously kept aloof, resolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to maintain his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to seize all opportunities to extend and promote the interest of his crown, and the advantage of his country. As for the King of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same system of forbearance : but in the latter end of the season his attention was engrossed by a domestic incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular instances of severity, exasperated the minds of certain individuals, and exercised his dominion in such acts of arbitrary power as excited a general



spirit of disaffection among his nobility; or, lastly, by the vigorous measures pursued against the encroaching Jesuits in Paraguay, and their correspondents in Portugal, had incurred the resentment of that society, we shall not pretend to determine: perhaps all these motives concurred in giving birth to a conspiracy against his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the most desperate resolution. On the third day of September, the King, according to custom, going out in a carriage to take the air, accompanied by one domestic, was, in the night, at a solitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horseback, armed with musketoes, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his sovereign's, drove the mules at full speed; a circumstance which in some measure disconcerted the other two conspirators, who pursued him at full gallop, and having no leisure to take aim, discharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The flugs with which they were loaded happened to pass between the King's right arm and his breast, dilacerating the parts from the shoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body. Finding himself grievously wounded, and the blood flowing apace, he, with such presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueria, where his principal surgeon resided, and there his wounds were immediately dressed. By this resolution, he



BOOK

III.

1758.

not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen from an excessive effusion of blood; but, without all doubt, saved his life from the hands of other assassins, posted on the road to accomplish the regicide, in case he should escape alive from the first attack. This instance of the King's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on a supposition that it must have been the effect of divine inspiration; and, indeed, among a people addicted to superstition, might well pass for a favorable interposition of Providence. The King, being thus disabled in his right arm, issued a decree, investing the Queen with the absolute power of government. In the mean time, no person had access to his presence but herself, the first minister, the Cardinal de Saldanha, the physicians, and surgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the shipping in the port of Lisbon. Rewards were publicly offered, together with the promise of pardon to the accomplices, for detecting any of the assassins; and such other measures used, that in a little time the whole conspiracy was discovered: a conspiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by persons of the first quality and influence. The Duke de Aveiro, of the family of Mascarenhas; the Marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commission of General of the horse; the Count de Attougui, the Marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arrested immediately after the assassination, as principals in the design; and many other accomplices, including some Jesuits, were



apprehended in the sequel. The further proceedings on this mysterious affair, with the fate of the conspirators, will be particularized among the transactions of the following year. At present, it will be sufficient to observe, that the King's wounds were attended with no bad consequences; nor did the imprisonment of those noblemen produce any disturbance in the kingdom.

C H A P.

IX.

1758.

§ XLVI. The domestic occurrences of France were tissued with a continuation of the disputes between the parliaments and clergy, touching the bull *Unigenitus*. In vain the King had interposed his authority; first proposing an accommodation; then commanding the parliament to forbear taking cognizance of a religious contest, which did not fall under their jurisdiction; and, thirdly, banishing their persons, and abrogating their power. He afterwards found it necessary to the peace of his dominions to recal and re-instate those venerable patriots; and being convinced of the intolerable insolence and turbulent spirit of the Archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn. He was no sooner re-admitted to his function, than he resumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the sacraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull *Unigenitus*: he even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented, the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Bishops, curates, and monks presumed to withhold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity, and were punished by the civil power. Other parliaments of the



B O O K

III.

1758.

kingdom followed the example exhibited by that of Paris, in asserting their authority and privileges. The King commanded them to desist, on pain of incurring his indignation: they remonstrated, and persevered; while the Archbishop repeated his injunctions and censures, and continued to inflame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation. But the chief care of the French ministry was employed in regulating the finances, and establishing funds of credit for raising money to pay subsidies, and maintain the war in Europe and America. In the course of this year they had not only considerably re-enforced their armies in Germany, but made surprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, for its defence against the operations of the British forces, which greatly outnumbered the French upon the continent. The court of Versailles practised every stratagem to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers. The ships destined for America they detached, both single and in convoys, sometimes from the Mediterranean, sometimes from their harbours in the Channel. They assembled transports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another, where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and in boisterous weather, when the English could no longer block up their harbours, their store-ships came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of their American settlements. Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast



of that continent were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Laurence. They either ventured to navigate the river before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbour of Nova-Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the English cruisers, in sailing up the gulf; or, lastly, they penetrated through the Straits of Belleisle, a dangerous passage, which, however, led them directly into the river St. Laurence, at a considerable distance above the station of the British squadron. Though the French navy was by this time so reduced, that it could neither face the English at sea, nor furnish proper convoys for commerce, her ministry nevertheless attempted to alarm the subjects of Great-Britain with the project of an invasion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of the line equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation; but this was no more than a feint to arouse the apprehension of the English, disconcert the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to keep alive the war in Germany. A much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging the equipment of stout privateers, which did considerable damage to the commerce of Great-Britain and Ireland, by cruising in the seas of Europe and America. Some of them lay close in

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



**B O O K** the harbours of the Channel, fronting the coast of  
 III. England, and darted out occasionally on the trading  
 1758. ships of this nation, as they received intelligence  
 from boats employed for that purpose. Some chose  
 their station in the North-Sea, where a great number  
 of captures were made upon the coast of Scotland;  
 others cruised in the chops of the Channel, and  
 even to the westward of Ireland; but the far greater  
 number scoured the seas in the neighbourhood of the  
 Leeward Islands in the West-Indies, where they took  
 a prodigious number of British ships, sailing to and  
 from the sugar-colonies, and conveyed them to  
 their own settlements in Martinique, Guadaloupe,  
 or St. Domingo.

§ XLVII. With respect to the war that raged in  
 Germany, the King of Denmark wisely pursued that  
 course which happily preserved him from being  
 involved in those troubles by which great part of  
 Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of  
 national advantage which a king ought ever to have  
 in view for the benefit of his people. By observing  
 a scrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance  
 among his neighbours: he saw himself courted by  
 all the belligerent powers: he saved the blood and  
 treasure of his subjects: he received large subsidies,  
 in consideration of his forbearance; and enjoyed,  
 unmolested, a much more considerable share of  
 commerce than he could expect to carry on, even  
 in times of universal tranquillity. He could not  
 perceive that the protestant religion had any thing  
 to apprehend from the confederacy which was formed  
 against the Prussian monarch; nor was he misled



into all the expense, the perils, and disquiets of a sanguinary war, by that *ignis fatuus* which hath seduced and impoverished other opulent nations, under the specious title of the balance of power in Germany. Howsoever he might be swayed by private inclination, he did not think it was a point of consequence to his kingdom whether Pomerania was possessed by Sweden or Prussia; whether the French army was driven back beyond the Rhine, or penetrated once more into the electorate of Hanover: whether the Empress-Queen was stripped of her remaining possessions in Silesia, or the King of Prussia circumscribed within the original bound of his dominion. He took it for granted that France, for her own sake, would prevent the ruin of that enterprising monarch; and that the house of Austria would not be so impolitic, and blind to its own interest, as to permit the Empress of Russia to make and retain conquests in the Empire: but, even if these powers should be weak enough to sacrifice all the maxims of sound policy to caprice or resentment, he did not think himself so deeply concerned in the event, as, for the distant prospect of what might possibly happen, to plunge headlong into a war that must be attended with certain and immediate disadvantages. True it is, he had no hereditary electorate in Germany that was threatened with invasion; nor, if he had, is it to be supposed that a prince of his sagacity and patriotism would have impoverished his kingdom of Denmark, for the precarious defence of a distant territory. It was reserved for another nation to adopt the pernicious absurdity of wasting its blood and

C H A P.

IX.

1758.



B O O K

III.

1758.

treasure, exhausting its revenues, loading its own back with the most grievous impositions, incurring an enormous debt, big with bankruptcy and ruin; in a word, of expending above a hundred and fifty millions sterling in fruitless efforts to defend a distant country, the entire property of which was never valued at one twentieth part of that sum; a country with which it had no natural connexion, but a common alliance arising from accident. The King of Denmark, though himself a prince of the Empire, and possessed of dominions in Germany, almost contiguous to the scenes of the present war, did not yet think himself so nearly concerned in the issue, as to declare himself either principal or auxiliary in the quarrel: yet he took care to maintain his forces by sea and land upon a respectable footing: and, by this conduct, he not only provided for the security of his own country, but over-awed the belligerent powers, who considered him as a prince capable of making either scale preponderate, just as he might chuse to trim the balance. Thus he preserved his wealth, commerce, and consequence undiminished; and, instead of being harassed as a party, was honored as an umpire.

§ XLVIII. The United Provinces, though as adverse as his Danish Majesty to any participation in the war, did not, however, so scrupulously observe the neutrality they professed: at least, the traders of that republic, either from an inordinate thirst of lucre, or a secret bias in favor of the enemies of Great-Britain, assisted the French commerce with all the appearance of the most flagrant partiality.

We



We have, in the beginning of this year's transactions, observed, that a great number of their ships were taken by the English cruisers, and condemned as legal prizes; for having French property on board: that the Dutch merchants, exasperated by their losses, exclaimed against the English as pirates and robbers, petitioned the States for redress in very high terms, and even loudly clamored for a war against Great-Britain. The charge of violence and injustice which they brought against the English, for taking and confiscating the ships that transported to Europe the produce of the French islands in the West-Indies, they founded on the tenth article of the treaty of commerce between Great-Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces, concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, stipulating. "That whatever shall be  
" found on board the ships of the subjects of the  
" United Provinces, though the lading, or part  
" thereof, may belong to the enemies of Great-  
" Britain, shall be free and unmolested; except these  
" be prohibited goods, which are to be served in  
" the manner prescribed by the foregoing articles." From this article the Dutch merchants argued, that, if there be no prohibited goods on board, the English had no right to stop or molest any of their ships, or make the least inquiry to whom the merchandise belonged, whence it was brought, or whither bound. This plea the English casuists would by no means admit, for the following reasons: A general and perpetual licence to carry on the whole trade of their enemy would be such a glaring absurdity, as no



B O O K

III.

1758.

convention could authorize: common sense had dictated, and Grotius declared, that no man can be supposed to have consented to an absurdity; therefore, the interpretation given by the Dutch to this article could not be supposed to be its true and genuine meaning; which indeed, relates to nothing more than the common course of trade, as it was usually carried on in time of peace. But, even should this interpretation be accepted, the article, and the treaty itself would be superseded and annulled by a subsequent treaty, concluded between the two nations in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-five, and often confirmed since that period, stipulating, in a secret article, That neither of the contracting parties should give, nor consent that any of their subjects and inhabitants should give, any aid, favor, or council, directly or indirectly, by land or sea, or on the fresh waters; nor should furnish, or permit the subjects or inhabitants of their respective territories to furnish, any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals, monies, instruments of war, gun-powder, or any other necessaries for making war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition soever. Now, the Dutch have infringed this article in many instances during the present war, both in Europe and America; and, as they have so openly contravened one treaty, the English are not obliged to observe any other. They, moreover, forfeited all right to the observance of the treaty in question, by refusing the succours with which they were bound, in the most solemn manner, to furnish the King of Great-Britain, in case any of his territories in Europe



should be attacked: for nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation upon which this refusal was founded; namely, that the hostilities in Europe were commenced by the English, when they seized and confiscated the vessels of France; and they, being the aggressors, had no right to insist upon the succours stipulated in a treaty which was purely defensive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itself can have no signification. The French, as in the present case, will always commence the war in America; and when their ships containing re-enforcements and stores for the maintenance of that war, shall be taken on the European seas, perhaps in consequence of their being exposed for that purpose, they will exclaim that the English were the aggressors in Europe, consequently deprived of all benefit accruing from the defensive treaty subsisting between them and the States-General of the United Provinces. It being impossible for the English to terminate the war, while their enemies derive the sinews of it from their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to suppress such collusions, by that necessity which Grotius himself hath allowed to be a sufficient excuse for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatsoever. In time of peace no Dutch ships were permitted to carry the produce of any French sugar-island, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the West-Indies; consequently, the treaty which they quote can never justify them in carrying on a commerce, which, as it did not exist, and was not foreseen, could not possibly be guarded against when that



BOOK

III.

1758.

convention was ratified. Grotius, whose authority is held in such veneration among the Dutch, has determined that every nation has a right to seize and confiscate the goods of any neutral power, which shall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that nation, either by land or sea. The French islands in the West-Indies were so blocked up by the English cruisers, that they could receive no relief from their own government, consequently no neutral power could attempt to supply them without falling under this predicament<sup>16</sup>. It was for these reasons that the King of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. Yorke, his minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of August with the deputies of the States-General, that though he was ready to concur in every measure that should be proposed for giving satisfaction to their High Mightinesses, with whom he had always studied to live in the most perfect union,

<sup>16</sup> In the reign of King William, when the English and Dutch were engaged in a war against France, the northern powers of Sweden and Denmark attempted to carry on the French commerce, under the shade of neutrality; but the Dutch and English joined in seizing the vessels that were thus employed. Complaints of these captures were made at London and the Hague, and the complainants were given to understand at both places, that they should not be allowed to carry on any trade with France, but what was usual in time of peace. In consequence of this declaration, Mr. Groning formed the design of writing a treatise on the freedom of navigation, and communicated the plan of his work to the celebrated Puffendorf, who signified his sentiments in a letter, which is preserved by the learned Barbeyrac, in his notes upon that author's treatise on the law of nature and nations.



he was nevertheless determined not to suffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the subjects of other powers, under the specious pretext of neutrality: nor to permit words to be interpreted as a licence to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly specified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheless rendered such in all respects, and in every sense, by the nature of the circumstances. It is not at all more surprising that the Dutch merchants should complain, than that the English government should persist in confiscating the ships that were found to contain the merchandise of their enemies. The individual traders of every mercantile nation will run considerable risques in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it must be detrimental to the general interest of their country. In the war maintained by the confederates against Louis XIV. of France, the merchant-ships of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports: and, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of England, the States-General could never be prevailed upon to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the British ministry to understand, that unless they connived at this traffic, their subjects could not possibly defray their proportion of the expense at which the war was maintained. It is well known through all Europe, that the subjects of the United Provinces reaped considerable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but also by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

stock-jobbing in England; consequently, it was not the interest, either of the States-General, or the English general, between whom there was a very good understanding, to bring that war to a speedy conclusion; nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals, influenced by motives of self-interest, which co-operate with the same energy in Holland, and among the subjects of Great-Britain. In the course of the former war, such a scandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the British dominions, that the French islands were actually supplied with provisions, slaves, and lumber from Ireland and the British colonies in North-America; and Martinique, in particular, must have surrendered to the commander of the English squadron stationed in those seas, had it not been thus supported by English subjects. Certain it is, the Dutch had some reason to complain that they were decoyed into this species of traffic by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great-Britain, without any previous warning, or explaining its sentiments on this subject, swept the sea at once of all their vessels employed in this commerce, and condemned them, without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thousand families. Considering the intimate connexion of mutual interest subsisting between Great-Britain and the States of the United Provinces, they seem to have some right to an intimation of this nature which, in all probability, would have induced them to resign all prospect of advantage from the prosecution of such a traffic.



§ XLIX. Besides the universal clamor excited in Holland, and the famous memorial presented to the States-General, which we have already mentioned in another place, a deputation of merchants waited four times successively on the Princess Regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preservation of their commerce. She promised to interpose her best offices with the court of Great-Britain; and these co-operating with representations made by the States-General, the English minister was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring all matters in dispute to an amicable accommodation. These endeavours, however, proved ineffectual. The British cruisers continued to take, and the British courts to condemn all Dutch vessels containing the produce of the French sugar-islands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled clamor, and all the trading part of the nation, re-enforced by the whole party that opposed the House of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and reprisals upon the pirates of England. The Princess, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to employ all her personal influence with the States-General, but also to play off one faction against another, in the way of remonstrance and exclamation. As far back as the month of June, she presented a memorial to the States-General, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, she had advised an augmentation should be made in their

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

land-forces, to strengthen the garrisons of the frontier-towns, and cover the territories of the republic from invasion. She gave them to understand that the provinces of Guelders and Overijssel, intimidated by the proximity of two formidable armies, had resolved to demand that the augmentation of their land-forces should be taken into consideration by the other provinces; and requested her to re-enforce their solicitations that this measure might immediately take place. This request, she said, she the more readily granted, as she could not but be sensible of the imminent danger that threatened the republic, especially since the Hanoverian army had passed the Rhine; and as it behoved the state to put itself in a condition to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the republic, if it should be defeated; for, in that case, the conqueror being authorized to pursue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of their country. This representation had no other effect than that of suspending the measure which each party proposed. The Princess, in her answer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared that she beheld the present state of their trade with the most anxious concern; that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haerlem, Amsterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Brille, to whose conduct it was owing, that the forces of the state, by sea and land, were not now on a better footing. The deputies were afterwards referred to her minister, M. de la Larrey, to whom they represented, that the augmentation of the land-forces, and the equipment of a



fleet, were matters as distinct from each other as light from darkness : that there was no pressing motive for an augmentation of the army, whereas, innumerable reasonable reasons rendered the equipment of a fleet a matter of the most urgent necessity. In a few days after this representation was made, the Princess, in an assembly of the States-General, requested their High Mightinesses, that seeing their earnest and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and West-Friesland, to acquiesce in the proposed augmentation of forces by sea and land, had not hitherto met with success, they would now consider and deliberate upon some expedient for terminating this affair, and the sooner the better, in order, on one hand, to satisfy the strong and well-grounded instances made by the provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen; and, on the other, to comply with the ardent just desires expressed by the commercial inhabitants of the country. She told them that the deputation which waited on her consisted of forty merchants, a number that merited attention no less than the speech they pronounced, of which a great number of printed copies were distributed through all parts of the country. Without making any particular remarks on the harangue, she only observed, that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negociation begun with Great-Britain, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown. From this circumstance she inferred it was more than time to finish the deliberations on the proposal for augmenting the forces both by sea and land;

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

a measure, without which she was convinced in her conscience the state was, and would always remain, exposed to all sorts of misfortune and danger, both now and hereafter.

§ L. In consequence of this interposition, the States-General that same day sent a letter to the states of Holland and West-Friesland, communicating the sentiments of the Princess Regent, and insisting upon the necessity of complying with her proposal of the double augmentation. They observed, that an augmentation of the land-forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was unavoidable, as well as an equipment by sea for the security of commerce: that the states of the provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Grœningen joined with them in the same opinion; and accordingly had insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the public interest. They represented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord: they proposed, that by a reciprocal indulgence one party should comply with the sentiments of the other, in order to avoid a schism and dangerous division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable; while the republic, in the mean time, would remain in a defenceless condition, both by sea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours. They conjured them, therefore, as they valued the safety of their country, and all that was dear to them, as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times, but



especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity, that they would seriously reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the confederates; and take a wise and salutary resolution with regard to the proposed augmentation of the land-forces, so that this addition, together with an equipment at sea, might, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion. It was undoubtedly the duty of all who wished well to their country to moderate the heat and precipitation of those, who, provoked by their losses, and stimulated by resentment, endeavoured at this period to involve their nation in a war with Great-Britain. Had matters been pushed to this extremity, in a few months the republic would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin. The Dutch were distracted by internal divisions; they were altogether unprovided for hostilities by sea; the ocean was covered with their trading vessels; and the naval armaments of Great-Britain were so numerous and powerful as to render all resistance on that element equally vain and pernicious. The English could not only have scoured the seas, and made prize of their shipping, but were also in a condition to reduce or demolish all their towns in Zealand, where they would hardly have met with any opposition.

CHAP.

IX.

1758.



## C H A P. X.

§ I. *Domestic occurrences in Great-Britain.* II. *Trials of Drs. Hensley and Shebbeare.* III. *Institution of the Magdalen and Asylum.* IV. *Society for the encouragement of arts.* V. *Session opened.* VI. *New treaty with the King of Prussia.* VII. *Supplies granted.* VIII. *King's message to the Commons.* IX. *Bills relating to the distillery, and the exportation of corn.* X. *Petition from the justices of Norfolk.* XI. *Bill for the importation of salted beef from Ireland continued.* XII. *Regulation with respect to privateers.* XIII. *New militia-laws.* XIV. *Act for the relief of debtors revived.* XV. *Bills for the importation of Irish beef and tallow.* XVI. *Act relative to Milford-haven.* XVII. *Bill relative to the duty on pensions.* XVIII. *Act relative to the duty on plate.* XIX. *Cambric-act.* XX. *Unsuccessful bills.* XXI. *Case of the insolvent debtors.* XXII. *Case of Captain Walker.* XXIII. *Remarks on the bankrupt-laws.* XXIV. *Inquiry into the state of the poor.* XXV. *Regulations of weights and measures.* XXVI. *Resolutions concerning the Foundling-hospital.* XXVII. *Messages from the King to the parliament.* XXVIII. *Session closed.* XXIX. *Preparations for war.* XXX. *Death of the Princess of Orange and Princess Elisabeth Caroline.* XXXI. *Examples made of pirates.* XXXII. *Accounts of some remarkable murders.* XXXIII. *Murder of Daniel Clarke.* XXXIV. *Majority of the Prince of Wales.* XXXV. *Resolutions*



*concerning a new bridge at Black-friars. XXXVI. Fire in Cornhill. XXXVII. Method contrived to find out the longitude. XXXVIII. Installation at Oxford. XXXIX. Deplorable incident at sea. XL. Captures made by separate cruisers. XLI. Captain Hood takes the Bellona. XLII. And Capt. Barrington the Count de 'St. Florentin. XLIII. Captain Falkner takes a French East-Indiaman. XLIV. Prizes taken in the West-Indies. XLV. Engagement between the Hercules and the Florissant. XLVI. Havre-de-Grace bombarded by Adm. Rodney. XLVII. Adm. Boscawen defeats M. de la Clue. XLVIII. Preparations made by the French for invading England. XLIX. Account of Thurot. L. French fleet sails from Brest. LI. Adm. Hawke defeats M. de Conflans. LII. Proceedings of the Irish parliament. LIII. Loyalty of the Irish catholics. LIV. Dangerous insurrection in Dublin. LV. Alarm of a descent in Scotland.*

§ I. **W**HILE the operations of the war were prosecuted through the four quarters of the globe, the island of Great-Britain, which may be termed the centre that gave motion to this vast machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the most profound peace, and saw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which served only to animate the nation to a desire of further conquest; for the dejection occasioned by the misfortune at St. Cas soon vanished before the prospect of victory and success. Considering the agitation naturally produced

CHAP.

X.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

among the common people by the practice of pressing men into the service of the navy, which in the beginning of the year had been carried on with unusual violence, the levy of so many new corps of soldiers, and the endeavours used in forming the national militia, very few disturbances happened to interrupt the internal repose of the nation. From private acts of malice, fraud, violence, and rapine, no community whatsoever is exempted. In the month of April, the temporary wooden bridge over the Thames, built for the conveniency of carriages and passengers, while the workmen should be employed in widening and repairing London-Bridge, was maliciously set on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The destruction of this conveniency proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city, notwithstanding the vigilancy and discretion of the magistrates, in applying remedies for this misfortune. A promise of the King's pardon was offered in a public advertisement, by the secretary of state, and a reward of two hundred pounds by the city of London to any person who should discover the perpetrator of such wicked outrage; but nevertheless he escaped detection. No individual, nor any society of men, could have the least interest in the execution of such a scheme, except the body of London-watermen; but as no discovery was made to the prejudice of any person belonging to that society, the deed was imputed to the malice of some secret enemy to the public. Even after a new



temporary bridge was erected, another attempt was made (in all probability by the same incendiary) to reduce the whole to ashes, but happily miscarried, and a guard was appointed, to prevent any such atrocious efforts in the sequel. Dangerous tumults were raised in and about Manchester, by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and entered into a combination to raise, by force, the price of their labor. They had formed a regular plan, and collected large sums for the maintenance of the poorer sort, while they refused to work for their families. They insulted and abused all those who would not join in this defection; dispersed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats against all such as should presume to oppose their proceedings. But these menaces had no effect upon the magistrates and justices, who did their duty with such discretion and courage, that the ringleaders being singled out, and punished by law, the rest were soon reduced to order.

§ II. In the month of June Florence Hensley, an obscure physician, and native of Ireland, who had been apprehended for treasonable practices, was tried in the court of King's-Bench, on an indictment for high treason. In the course of the trial it appeared that he had been employed as a spy for the French ministry: to which, in consideration of a paltry pension, he sent intelligence of every material occurrence in Great Britain. The correspondence was managed by his brother, a Jesuit, who acted as chaplain and secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague. The British resident at that court having learned from the Spanish minister

C H A P.

X.

1752.



BOOK

III.

1758.

some secrets relating to England, even before they were communicated to him from the English ministry, was induced to set on foot an inquiry touching the source of this information, and soon received an assurance, that the secretary of the Spanish ambassador had a brother, a physician in London. The suspicion naturally arising from this circumstance being imparted to the ministry of England, Hensley was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of these he was convicted of having given the French court the first notice of the expedition to North-America, the capture of the two ships, the Alcide and Lys, the sailing and destination of every squadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raising money for the service of the public. He had even informed them that the secret expedition of the foregoing year was intended against Rochefort, and advised a descent upon Great-Britain, at a certain time and place, as the most effectual method of distressing the government, and affecting the public credit. After a long trial he was found guilty of treason, and received the sentence of death usually pronounced on such occasions: but whether he earned forgiveness by some material discovery, or the minister found him so insensible and insignificant that he was ashamed to take his life, he escaped execution, and was pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile. The severity of the government was much about the same period exercised on Dr. Shebbeare, a public writer, who, in a series of printed letters to the people of England,

had



had animadverted on the conduct of the ministry in the most acrimonious terms, stigmatized some great names with all the virulence of censure, and even assaulted the throne itself with oblique insinuation and ironical satire. The ministry, incensed at the boldness, and still more enraged at the success of this author, whose writings were bought with avidity by the public, determined to punish him severely for his arrogance and abuse, and he was apprehended by a warrant from the secretary's office. His sixth letter to the people of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a prosecution. After a short trial in the court of King's - Bench, he was found guilty of having written the sixth letter to the people of England, adjudged a libellous pamphlet, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a small fine, to be imprisoned three years, and give security for his future good behaviour: so that, in effect, this good man suffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion and scurrility, than was inflicted upon Hensley, a convicted traitor, who had acted as a spy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire.

CHAP.

X.

1758.

§ III. Amidst a variety of crimes and disorders, arising from impetuosity of temper, unreined passion, luxury, extravagance, and an almost total want of police and subordination, the virtues of benevolence are always springing up to an extraordinary growth in the British soil; and here charities are often established by the humanity of individuals, which in any other country would be honored as national institutions: witness the great number of hospitals and



B O O K

III.

1758.

infirmaries in London and Westminster, erected and maintained by voluntary contributions, or raised by the princely donations of private founders. In the course of this year the public began to enjoy the benefit of several admirable institutions. Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middlesex, had, in his life-time, built and endowed an hospital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain sum of money to accumulate at interest, under the management of trustees, until the yearly produce should amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be given in marriage-portions to two of the maidens educated in his hospital, at the age of twenty-two, who should be the best recommended for piety and industry by the masters or mistresses whom they had served. In the month of March, the sum destined for this laudable purpose was completed; when the trustees, by public advertisement, summoned the maidens educated in the hospital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumstances, that six of the most deserving might be selected to draw lots for the prize of one hundred pounds, to be paid as her marriage-portion, provided she married a man of an unblemished character, a member of the church of England, residing within certain specified parishes, and approved by the trustees. Accordingly, on the first of May the candidates appeared, and the prize being gained by one young woman, in presence of a numerous assembly of all ranks, attracted by curiosity, the other five maidens, with a sixth, added in lieu of her who had been successful, were marked for a second chance on the same day of the following year, when a second



prize of the same value would be presented: thus a new candidate will be added every year, that every maiden who has been educated in this hospital, and preserved her character without reproach, may have a chance for the noble donation, which is also accompanied with the sum of five pounds to defray the expense of the wedding - entertainment. One scarce knows whether most to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent institution. Of equal and perhaps superior merit was another charitable establishment, which also took effect about this period. A small number of humane individuals, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous resolution in their favor, such as even the best men of the kingdom had never before the courage to avow. They considered that many of these unhappy creatures, so wretched in themselves, and so productive of mischief to society, had been seduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the other sex, or the violence of unruly passion, before they had acquired experience to guard against the one, or foresight to perceive the fatal consequences of the other: that the jewel, reputation, being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with shame and disgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard, and assistance: that, stung by self-conviction, insulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened with despair, they had

CHAP.

X.

1758.



BOOK

III.

1758.

plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were exposed to deplorable vicissitudes of misery, and the most excruciating pangs of reflection that any human being could sustain: that, whatever remorse they might feel, howsoever they might detest their own vice, or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely destitute of all means of reformation: they were not only deprived of all possibility of profiting by those precious moments of repentance, and becoming again useful members of society; but, in order to earn a miserable subsistence, were obliged to persevere in the paths of prostitution, and act the instruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating distemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow-creatures. Moved to sympathy and compassion by these considerations, this virtuous band of associates determined to provide a comfortable asylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for shelter from the receptacles of vice, the miseries of life, and the scorn of mankind; where they might indulge the salutary sentiments of remorse, make their peace with heaven, accustom themselves to industry and temperance, and be profitably reunited to society, from which they had been so unhappily dis severed. The plan of this excellent institution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary subscription, and the house opened in Goodman's-fields, under the name of the Magdalen-hospital, in the month of August; when fifty petitions were presented by penitent prostitutes, soliciting admittance. Another asylum was also opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surrey-side of Westminster-bridge, for the reception and education



of female-orphans, and children abandoned by their parents. C H A P.  
X

§ IV. Nor was encouragement refused to those who distinguished themselves by extraordinary talents in any branch of the liberal and useful arts and sciences, though no Mæcenas appeared among the ministers, and not the least ray of patronage glimmered from the throne. The protection, countenance, and gratification secured in other countries by the institution of academies, and the liberalities of princes, the ingenious in England derived from the generosity of a public, endued with taste and sensibility, eager for improvement, and proud of patronizing extraordinary merit. Several years had already elapsed since a society of private persons was instituted at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It consisted of a president, vice-president, secretary, register, collector, and other officers, elected from a very considerable number of members, who pay a certain yearly contribution for the purposes of the institution. In the course of every year they held eight general meetings in a large assembly-room, built and furnished at the common expense; besides the ordinary meetings of the society, held every week, from the second Wednesday in November to the last Wednesday in May; and, in the intermediate time, on the first and third Wednesday of every month. At these ordinary meetings, provided the number then present exceeded ten, the members had a right to proceed on business, and power to appoint such committees as they should think necessary. The money contributed by this association, after the

1758.



B O O K

III.

1758.

necessary expense of the society had been deducted, was expended in premiums for planting and husbandry; for discoveries and improvements in chemistry, dying, and mineralogy; for promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, casting, painting, statuary, and sculpture; for the improvement of manufactures and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled-paper, ship-blocks, spinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving. They likewise allotted sums for the advantage of the British colonies in America, and bestowed premiums on those settlers who should excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood-trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax, making pot-ash, preserving raisins, curing safflower, making silk and wines, importing sturgeon, preparing isinglass, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the persimon-tree, collecting stones of the mango, which should be found to vegetate in the West-Indies; raising silk-grass, and laying out provincial gardens. They, moreover, allowed a gold medal, in honor of him who should compose the best treatise on the arts of peace, containing a historical account of the progressive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the society is so numerous, the contributions so considerable, the plan so judiciously laid, and executed with such discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the public than ever



accrued from all the boasted academies of Christendom. The artists of London had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expense, the Duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the most amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall, for the use of those who studied the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving; and furnished it with a collection of original plaister-casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instructions of two eminent artists, and twice a year the munificent founder bestowed premiums of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making the best model of it in basso-relievo<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Among other transactions that distinguish the history of Great-Britain, scarce a year glides away without producing some incident that strongly marks the singular character of the English nation. A very extraordinary instance of this nature, relating to the late Duke of Marlborough, we shall record among the events of this year, although it derived its origin from the latter end of the last, and cannot be properly enumerated among those occurrences that appertain to general history. Towards the end of November, in the preceding year, the above-mentioned nobleman received, by the post, a letter directed "To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, with care and speed," and containing this address:

MY LORD,

"As ceremony is an idle thing upon most occasions, more especially to persons in my state of mind, I shall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the motive and end of addressing this epistle to you, which is equally interesting to us both.

L 4



BOOK

III.

1758.

§ V. On the twenty-third day of November both Houses of parliament met at Westminster, when

You are to know then, that my present situation in life is such, that I should prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me or unmake yourself. As I never had the honor to live among the great, the tenor of my proposals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for some time to find out a method of destroying another without exposing my own life: that I have accomplished, and defy the law. Now, for the application of it. I am desperate, and must be provided for. You have it in your power; it is my business to make it your inclination to serve me, which you must determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel support for my life, or your own will be at a period before this session of parliament is over. I have more motives than one for singling you out upon this occasion; and I give you this fair warning, because the means I shall make use of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of physic. If you think this of any consequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday (if the weather should be rainy on Sunday) near the first tree beyond the stile in Hyde-Park, in the foot-walk to Kensington. Secrecy and compliance may preserve you from a double danger of this sort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death has more than been wished for upon other motives. I know the world too well to trust this secret in any breast but my own. A few days determine me your friend or enemy.

F E L T O N".

"You will apprehend that I mean you should be alone, and depend upon it, that a discovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My safety is insured by my silence, for confession only can condemn me."

The duke, in compliance with this strange remonstrance, appeared at the time and place appointed, on horseback and alone, with pistols before him, and the star of his order displayed, that he might be the more easily known.



his Majesty being indisposed, the session was opened by commission, and the Lord-keeper harangued

C H A P.

X.

1758.

He had likewise taken the precaution of engaging a friend to attend in the Park, at such a distance, however, as scarce to be observable. He continued some time on the spot without seeing any person he could suspect of having wrote the letter, and then rode away; but chancing to turn his head when he reached Hyde Park corner, he perceived a man standing at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which was described in the letter. He forthwith rode back at a gentle pace, and passing by the person expected to be addressed, but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repassing, bowed to the stranger, and asked if he had not something to communicate. The man replying, "No, I don't know you;" the Duke told him his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have something to say to me." But he still answered in the negative, and the Duke rode home. In a day or two after this transaction another letter was brought to him, couched in the following terms:

MY LORD,

"YOU receive this as an acknowledgment of your punctuality as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday last, though it was owing to you it answered no purpose. The pageantry of being armed, and the ensign of your order were useless, and too conspicuous. You needed no attendant, the place was not calculated for mischief, nor was any intended. If you walk in the west aisle of Westminster-Abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your sagacity will point out the person whom you will address, by asking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on inquiry, to be acquainted with the name and place of abode. According to which direction you will please to send two or three hundred pound bank-notes the next day by the penny-post. Exert not your curiosity too early: it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not bark before they bite.

I am, &c. F."

The duke, determined, if possible, to unveil this mystery, repaired to the Abbey at the time prescribed, and, after having



BOOK

III.

1758.

them to this effect. He told them, his Majesty had directed the lords of the commission to assure his

walked up and down for five or six minutes, saw the very same person to whom he had spoke in Hyde-Park enter the Abbey, with another man of a creditable appearance. This last, after they had viewed some of the monuments, went into the choir, and the other turning back, advanced towards the duke, who accosting him, asked if he had any thing to say to him, or any commands for him? He replied, "No, my lord, I have not." — "Sure you have," said the Duke, but he persisted in his denial; Then the duke leaving him, took several turns in the aisle, while the stranger walked on the other side. But nothing further passed between them, and although the duke had provided several persons in disguise to apprehend the delinquent, he forbore giving the signal, that, notwithstanding appearances, he might run no risque of injuring an innocent person. Not long after this second disappointment he received a third letter, to the following effect:

MY LORD,

"I AM fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday: I interpret it as owing to the weakness of human nature, but such proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilst it is impossible to answer the end proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were by accident, and may easily find where I go to; in consequence of which, by being sent to, I shall wait on your grace, but expect to be quite alone, and to converse in whispers: you will likewise give your honor, upon meeting, that no part of the conversation shall transpire. These and the former terms complied with ensure your safety: my revenge, in case of non-compliance (or any scheme to expose me) will be slower, but not the less sure? and strong suspicion the utmost that can possibly ensue upon it, while the chance would be ten-fold against you. You will possibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite necessary the out-side should be a mask to the in. The family of the Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my scheme."

The expression, "you will see me again soon, as it were by accident," plainly pointed at the person to whom he had



parliament that he always received the highest satisfaction in being able to lay before them any

CHAP.

X.

1758.

spoke in the Park, and in the Abbey ; nevertheless, he saw him not again, nor did he hear any thing further of the affair for two months, at the expiration of which the post brought him following letter :

“ May it please your Grace ,

“ I Have reason to believe that the son of one Barnard, a surveyor, in Abingdon-buildings, Westminster, is acquainted with some secrets that nearly concern your safety : his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of questioning him more privately ; it would be useless to your grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publicly in this affair,

” Your sincere friend,

ANONYMOUS.”

“ He frequently goes to Storey’s-Gate coffee-house.”

In about a week after this intimation was received, the Duke sent a person to the coffee-house, to inquire for Mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be glad to speak to him. The message was delivered, and Barnard declared he would wait upon his grace next Thursday, at half an hour after ten in the morning. He was punctual to his appointment, and no sooner appeared than the Duke recognised him to be the person to whom he had spoke in the Park and the Abbey. Having conducted him into an apartment, and shut the door, he asked, as before, if he had any thing to communicate ; and was answered, as formerly, in the negative. Then the Duke repeated every circumstance of this strange transaction ; to which Barnard listened with attention and surprise, yet without exhibiting any marks of conscious guilt or confusion. The Duke observing that it was matter of astonishment to see letters of such import written with the correctness of a scholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very learned at the same time. When he saw the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned, with the circumstance of his father’s absence, he said. “ It is very odd, my farther was then out of town.” An expression the more remarkable, as the letter was without date, and he could not, as an innocent man, be supposed to know at what time it was written. The Duke having



BOOK  
III.  
1758.

events that might promote the honor and interest of his kingdoms: that, in consequence of their advice, made him acquainted with the particulars, told him, that if he was innocent he ought to use his endeavours to detect the writer of the letters, especially of the last, in which he was expressly named. To this admonition he returned no other answer but a smile, and then withdrew. — He was afterwards taken into custody, and tried at the Old-Bailey, for sending a threatening letter, contrary to the statute; but no evidence could be found to prove the letters were of his hand-writing; nor did any presumption appear against him, except his being in Hyde-Park, and in Westminster-Abbey, at the time and place appointed in the two first letters. On the other hand, Mr. Barnard proved, that on the Sunday, when he saw the Duke in Hyde-Park, he was on his way to Kensington, on particular business, by his father's order, signified to him that very morning: that he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with several other persons, to whom he related what had passed between the Duke of Marlborough and him in the Park: that his being afterwards in Westminster-Abbey was the effect of mere accident: that Mr. James Greenwood, his kinsman, who had lain the preceding night at his father's house, desired him to dress himself, that they might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with his request till after much solicitation: that he proposed to enter the Park without passing through the Abbey, but was prevailed upon by Mr. Greenwood, who expressed a desire of seeing the newly-erected monument of General Hargrave: that as he had formerly communicated to his friend the strange circumstance of the Duke's speaking to him in Hyde-Park, Mr. Greenwood no sooner saw that nobleman in the Abbey, than he gave notice to Mr. Barnard, who was very short-sighted: and that, from his passing them several times, concluding he wanted to speak with Mr. Barnard alone, he quitted him, and retired into the choir, that they might commune together without interruption. It likewise appeared from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly, to his friends and acquaintance, the circumstances of what passed between him and the Duke in the Park and in the Abbey: that his father



and enabled by the assistance which they unanimously, gave, his Majesty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the most vigorous manner, in order to attain that desirable end, always to be wished, a safe and honorable peace<sup>2</sup>: that it had pleased the Divine Providence to bless his measures and arms with success in several parts, and to make the enemies of the nation feel that the strength of Great-Britain is not to be provoked with impunity: that the conquest was a man of unblemished reputation, and in affluent circumstances: that he himself was never reduced to any want, or such exigence as might impel him to any desperate methods of obtaining money: that his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For these reasons he was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge, and the mystery remains to this day undiscovered.

After all, the author of the letters does not seem to have had any real design to extort money, because the scheme was very ill calculated for that purpose, and indeed, could not possibly take effect, without the most imminent risque of detection. Perhaps his aim was nothing more than to gratify a petulance and peculiarity of humor, by alarming the Duke, exciting the curiosity of the public, puzzling the multitude, and giving rise to a thousand ridiculous conjectures. If any thing more was intended, and the Duke earnestly desired to know the extent of the scheme, he might, when he closeted the person suspected, have encouraged him to a declaration, by promising inviolable secrecy on his word and honor, in which any man would have confided as a sacred obligation. On the whole, it is surprising that the death of the Duke, which happened in the course of this year, was never attributed to the secret practices of this incendiary correspondent who had given him to understand, that his vengeance though slow, would not be the less certain.

<sup>2</sup> In the month of August, the King, in quality of Elector of Hanover, having occasion for two hundred thousand pounds, a loan by subscription for that sum was opened at the Bank, and filled immediately by seven or eight money-dealers of London.



B O O K

III.

1758.

of the strong fortrefs of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape-Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, of the highest importance to his operations in America, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail to bring great distress on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion to procure great advantage to those of Great-Britain. He observed, that France had also been made sensible, that whilst her forces are sent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coasts are not inaccessible to his Majesty's fleets and armies: a truth which she had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expense, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the loss of a great number of ships and vessels; but no treatment, however injurious to his Majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown. He told them, that in Germany his Majesty's good brother, the King of Prussia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had found full employment for the enemies of France and her confederates, from which the English operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage; their successes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his Majesty's troops, and those of his allies, having been signal and glorious. The King, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cause of liberty and independency was still making noble and glorious efforts against the unnatural union formed to oppress it: that the commerce of his subjects, the source of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his Majesty's fleet, flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during such troubles: In this state of things, he said, the



King, in his wisdom, thought it unnecessary to use many words to persuade them to bear up against all difficulties, effectually to stand by, and defend his Majesty, vigorously to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of his Majesty's allies, and to exert themselves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He observed to the House of Commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occasioned it to be uncommonly expensive: that the King had ordered them to declare to the Commons, that he sincerely lamented, and deeply felt for the burdens of his people: that the several estimates were ordered to be laid before them; and that he desired only such supplies as should be requisite to push the war with advantage, and be adequate to the necessary services. In the last place, he assured them the King took so much satisfaction in that good harmony which subsisted among his faithful subjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortation to it: that this union, necessary at all times, was more especially so in such critical conjunctures; and his Majesty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it would be the strongest motives to them to pursue it. — The reader will, no doubt, be surprised to find this harangue abound with harshness of period and inelegancy of expression: he will wonder that, in particularizing the successes of the year in America, no mention is made of the reduction of Fort Du Quesne on the river Ohio; a place of great importance, both from its strength and situation, the erection of which had been one great motive to the war between the two nations: but he will be still more surprised to hear it declared from the throne, that the operations, both by



**B O O K**    sea and in America, had derived the most evident  
**III.**        advantage from the war in Germany. An assertion the  
**1758.**        more extraordinary, as the British ministry, in their  
 answer to the Parallel, which we have already mentioned, had expressly affirmed, that “none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy’s force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea.—That they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea.” It is very remarkable, that the British ministry should declare that the war in Germany was favorable to the English operations by sea and in America; and almost in the same breath accuse the French King of having fomented that war. Let us suppose that France had no war to maintain in Europe; and ask in what manner she, in that case, would have opposed the progress of the British arms by sea, and in America? Her navy was reduced to such a condition that it durst not quit her harbours; her merchant-ships were all taken, her mariners confined in England, and the sea was covered with British cruisers: in these circumstances, what expedients could she have contrived for sending supplies, and re-enforcements to America, or for opposing the naval armaments of Great-Britain in any other part of the world?—None. Without ships and mariners, her troops, ammunition, and stores were, in this respect, as useless as money to a man ship wrecked on a desolate island. But, granting that the war in  
 Germany



Germany had, in some measure, diverted the attention of the French ministry from the prosecution of their operations in America (and this is granting more than ought to be allowed) (the question is not, whether the hostilities upon the continent of Europe prevented France from sending a great number of troops to Canada; but whether the war in Germany was either necessary or expedient for distressing the French more effectually in other parts of the world? Surely every intelligent man of candor must answer in the negative. The expense incurred by England for subsidies and armies in the Empire exceeded three millions sterling annually; and this enormous expense, without being able to protect Hanover, only served to keep the war alive in different parts of Germany. Had one half of this sum been employed in augmenting and extending the naval armaments of Great-Britain, and in re-enforcing her troops in America and the West-Indies, France would have been, at this day, deprived of all her sugar-colonies, as well as of her settlements on the continent of America; and being absolutely cut off from these sources of wealth, would have found it impracticable either to gratify her subsidiaries, or to maintain such formidable armies to annoy her neighbours. These are truths, which will appear to the conviction of the public, when the illusive spells of unsubstantial victory are dissolved, and time shall have dispersed the thick mists of prejudice, which now seem to darken and perplex the understanding of the people.

§ VI. The conduct of the administration was so

VOL. VII.

M

C H A P.

X.

1758.



B O O K

III.

1758.

agreeable to both Houses of parliament, that in their address to the throne they expressed their unshaken zeal and loyalty to his Majesty's person, congratulated him on the success of his arms, and promised to support his measures and allies with steadiness and alacrity'. It was probably in consequence of this assurance that a new treaty between Great-Britain and Prussia was concluded at London on the seventh day of December, importing. That as the burdensome war in which the King of Prussia is engaged lays him under the necessity of making fresh efforts to defend himself against the multitude of enemies who attack his dominions, he is obliged to take new measures with the King of England, for their reciprocal defence and safety; and his Britannic Majesty hath, at the same time, signified his earnest desire to strengthen the friendship subsisting between the two courts, and,

<sup>3</sup> That the charge of disaffection to the King's person, which was so loudly trumpeted by former ministers and their adherents against those who had honesty and courage to oppose the measures of a weak and corrupt administration, was entirely false, and without foundation, appeared at this juncture, when in the midst of a cruel, oppressive, and continental war, maintained by the blood and treasure of Great-Britain, all opposition ceased in both Houses of parliament. The addresses of thanks to his Majesty, which are always dictated by the immediate servants of the crown, were unanimously adopted in both Houses, and not only couched in terms of applause, but even inflated with expressions of rapture and admiration. They declared themselves sensible, that the operations of Great-Britain, both by sea and in America, had received the most evident and important advantages from the maintenance of the war in Germany, and seemed eager to espouse any measure that might gratify the inclinations of the sovereign.



in consequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention, for granting to his Prussian Majesty speedy and powerful assistance, their Majesties have nominated and authorized their ministers to concert and settle the following articles:— All formal treaties between the two crowns, particularly that signed at Westminster on the 16th day of January, in the year 1756, and the convention of the 11th of April, in the year 1758, are confirmed by the present convention of the 11th of April, in the year 1758, in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inserted word for word. The King of Great-Britain shall cause to be paid at London, to such person or persons as shall be authorized by the King of Prussia for that end, the sum of four millions of rix-dollars, making six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications, if the King of Prussia shall so require. His Prussian Majesty shall employ the said sum in supporting and augmenting his forces, which shall act in such manner as shall be of the greatest service to the common cause, and contribute most to the mutual defence and safety of their said Majesties. The King of Great-Britain, both as King and elector, and the King of Prussia, reciprocally bind themselves not to conclude with the powers that have taken part in the present war any treaty of peace, truce, or other such like convention, but by common advice and consent, each expressly including therein the other. The ratification of the present convention shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner, if possible. In effect, this treaty was no other than

C H A P.

X.

1758.



**B O O K** a renewal of the subsidy from year to year, because  
**III.** it was not thought proper to stipulate in the first subsidiary convention an annual supply of such importance until the war should be terminated, lest the people of England should be alarmed at the prospect of such successive burdens, and the complaisance of the Commons be in some future session exhausted. On the whole, this was perhaps the most extraordinary treaty that ever was concluded; for it contains no specification of articles, except the payment of the subsidy: every other article was left to the interpretation of his Prussian Majesty.

**An. 1759.**

§ VII. The parliament, having performed the ceremony of addresses to the throne, immediately proceeded to the great work of the supply. The two committees in the House of Commons were immediately established, and continued by adjournments to the month of May, by the twenty-third day of which all their resolutions were taken. They voted sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the service of the ensuing year; and for the operations by land, a body of troops amounting to fifty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-three effective men, besides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckeburgh, to the number of fifty thousand, and five battalions on the Irish establishment, in actual service in America and Africa. For the maintenance of the sixty thousand men employed in the sea-service, they granted three millions one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; for the land-forces, one million two hundred fifty-six thousand



one hundred and thirty pounds, fifteen shillings, and two-pence, for the charge of the additional five battalions, forty thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds, thirteen shillings and nine pence; for the pay of the general and staff-officers, and hospitals of the land-forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape-Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence; for the charge of ordnance for land-service, two hundred and twenty thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine pounds, eleven shillings, and nine pence; for extraordinary service performed by the same office, and not provided for by parliament in the course of the preceding year, three hundred twenty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and three pence; for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand four hundred and ninety-one pounds, nine shillings and eight pence; towards the support of Greenwich-hospital, and for the out-pensioners of Chelsea-college, the sum of thirty-six thousand pounds. They allotted for one year's expense incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great-Britain, one million two hundred thirty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy-seven pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence, over and above sixty thousand pounds for enabling his Majesty to fulfil his engagements

CHAP.

X.

1759



B O O K

III.

1759.

with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to the separate article of a new treaty concluded between them in the month of January of this current year, stipulating that this sum should be paid to his serene highness, in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Eighty thousand pounds were granted for enabling his Majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the preceding session, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of parliament. The sum of two hundred thousand pounds was voted towards the building and repairing ships of war for the ensuing year. Fifteen thousand pounds were allowed for improving London-bridge; and forty thousand on account for the Foundling-hospital. For the charge of transports to be employed in the course of the year they assigned six hundred sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-one pounds, nineteen shillings, and seven pence: for maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia they bestowed twenty-five thousand two hundred and thirty-eight pounds, thirteen shillings and five pence. To replace sums taken from the sinking fund, thirty-three thousand two hundred and fifty-two pounds, eighteen shillings, and ten pence halfpenny; for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, ten thousand pounds; and for paying off the mortgage on an estate devised for the endowment of a professorship in the university of Cambridge, the sum of twelve hundred and eighty pounds. For the expense of the militia they voted ninety thousand



pounds; for extraordinary expenses relating to the land-forces, incurred in the course of last year, and unprovided for by parliament, the sum of four hundred sixty-six thousand seven hundred and eighty-five pounds, ten shillings, and five-pence three farthings. For the purchase of certain lands and hereditaments, in order to secure the King's docks at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, they granted thirty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds, two shillings, and ten pence. They voted two hundred thousand pounds for enabling his Majesty to give proper compensations to the respective provinces in North-America for the expenses they had incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the service of the public. They granted twenty thousand pounds to the East-India company, towards enabling them to defray the expense of a military force in their settlements; and the same sum was granted for carrying on the fortifications to secure the harbour of Milford. To make good several sums issued by his Majesty, for indemnifying the innholders and victuallers of Hampshire for the expenses they had incurred in quartering the Hessian auxiliaries in England; for an addition to the salaries of judges, and other less considerable purposes, they allowed the sum of twenty-six thousand one hundred and seventy eight pounds, sixteen shillings, and six-pence. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, for enabling the King to defray any extraordinary expense of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint

C H A P.

X.

1759.



**BOOK** or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies,  
**III.** as the exigency of affairs should require. The sum  
**1759.** of all the grants voted by the committee of supply amounted to twelve millions seven hundred sixty-one thousand three hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings, and five-pence.

§ VIII. The Commons were still employed in deliberations on ways and means on the twenty-second day of May, when Mr. Secretary Pitt communicated to them a message from the King, couched in these terms: "His Majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and considering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirous that this House will enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, and to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs may require." This message being read, a motion was made, and agreed to *nem. con.* that it should be referred to the committee, who forthwith formed upon it the resolution, whereby one million was granted, to be raised by loans or Exchequer-bills, chargeable on the first aides that should be given in the next session. This produced a bill enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, comprehending a



clause, allowing the Bank of England to advance, on the credit of the loan therein mentioned, any sum not exceeding a million, notwithstanding the act of the fifth and sixth years in the reign of William and Mary, by which the Bank was established.

CHAP.

X.

1759.

§ IX. The bills relating solely to the supply being discussed and expedited, the House proceeded as usual to enact other laws for the advantage of the community. Petitions having been presented by the cities of Bristol and New-Sarum, alledging, that since the laws prohibiting the making of low wines and spirits from grain, meal, and flour had been in force, the commonalty appeared more sober, healthy, and industrious; representing the ill consequences which they apprehended would attend the repeal of these laws, and therefore praying their continuance; a committee of the whole House resolved that the prohibition to export corn should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; subject nevertheless to such provisions for shortening the said term of its continuance as should therefore be made by any act of that session, or by his Majesty, with the advice of his privy-council, during the recess of parliament; that the act for discontinuing the duties upon corn and flour imported, or brought in as prize, was not proper to be further continued; and that the prohibition to make low wines or spirits from any sort of grain, meal, or flour should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine. Before the bill was formed on these



B O O K  
 III.  
 1759.

resolutions, petitions arrived from Liverpool and Bath, to the same purport as those of Bristol and Sarum; while, on the other hand, a remonstrance was presented by a great number of the malt-distillers of the city and suburbs of London, alledging, that it having been deemed expedient to prohibit the distilling of spirits from any sort of grain to the twenty-fourth day of December then instant, some of the petitioners had entirely ceased to carry on the business of distilling, while others, merely with a view to preserve their customers, the compound distillers, and employ some of their servants, horses, and utensils, had submitted to carry on the distillation of spirits from melasses and sugars under great disadvantages, in full hope that the said restraint would cease at the expiration of the limited time, or at least when the necessity which occasioned that restraint should be removed; that it was with great concern they observed a bill would be brought in for protracting the said prohibition, at a time when the prize of all manner of grain, and particularly of wheat and barley, was considerably reduced, and, as they humbly conceived, at a reasonable medium. They expatiated on the great loss they, as well as many traders and artificers dependents upon them, must sustain, in case the said bill should be passed into a law. They prayed the House to take these circumstances into consideration, and either permit them to carry on the distillation from wheat, malt, and other grain, under such restrictions as should be judged necessary; or to grant them such other relief, in respect of their several losses and encumbrances, as to the House



C H A P.

X.

1759.

should seem reasonable and expedient. This petition, though strenuously urged by a powerful and clamorous body without doors, did not meet with great encouragement within. It was ordered to lie upon the table, and an instruction was given to the committee, empowering them to receive a clause or clauses to allow the transportation of certain quantities of meal, flour, bread, and biscuit to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, for the sole use of the inhabitants; and another to prohibit the making of low wines and spirits from bran. Much more attention was paid to a petition of several farmers in the county of Norfolk, representing, that their farms consisted chiefly of arable land, which produced much greater quantities of corn than could be consumed within that county; that in the last harvest there was a great and plentiful crop of all sorts of grain, the greatest part of which had, by unfavorable weather, been rendered unfit for sale at London, or other markets, for home-consumption; that large quantities of malt were then lying at London, arising chiefly from the crops of barley growing in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, the sale of which was stagnated; that the petitioners being informed the House had ordered in a bill to continue the prohibition of corn exported, they begged leave to observe, that, should it pass into a law, it would be extremely prejudicial to all, and ruin many farmers of that county, as they had offered their corn for sale at divers ports and markets of the said county; but the merchants refused to buy it at any price, alledging its being unfit for the London-market,



B O O K

III.

1759.

the great quantity of corn with which that market was already overstocked, and their not being allowed either to export it, or make it into malt for exportation: they, therefore, prayed this prohibition might be removed, or they the petitioners indulged with some other kind of relief. Although this remonstrance was duly considered, the bill passed with the amendments, because of the proviso, by which his Majesty in council was empowered to shorten the date of the prohibition, with respect to the exportation of corn, during the recess of parliament: but the temporary restraint laid upon distillation was made absolute, without any such condition, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the distillers, who had spared no pains and expense, by private solicitation and strenuous dispute in the public papers, to recommend their cause to the favor of the community. They urged, that malt-spirits, when used in moderation, far from being prejudicial to the health of individuals, were in many damp and marshy parts of the kingdom absolutely necessary for preserving the field-laborers from agues, and other distempers produced by the cold and moisture of the climate; that if they were debarred the use of malt-spirits, they would have recourse to French brandy, with which, as they generally resided near the sea-coast, the smugglers would provide them almost as cheap as the malt-spirits could be afforded: thus the increased consumption of French spirit would drain the nation of ready money to a considerable amount, and prejudice the King's revenue in the same proportion. They



observed, that many distillers had already quitted that branch of trade, and disposed of their materials; that all of them would probably take the same resolution, should the bill pass into a law, as no man could foresee when the prohibition would cease, should it be continued at a time when all sorts of grain abounded in such plenty; that the very waste of materials by disuse, over and above the lying out of the money, would be of great prejudice to the proprietor: thus the business of distilling, by which so many families were supported, would be banished from the kingdom entirely: especially, as the expense of establishing a large distillery was so great, that no man would chuse to employ his money for this purpose, judging from experience, that some future accidental scarcity of corn might induce the legislature to interpose a ruinous delay in this branch of business. They affirmed, that, from the excessive use of malt-spirits, no good argument could be drawn against this branch of traffic, no more than against any other conveniency of life: that the excessive use of common beer or ale was prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, yet no person ever thought of putting an end to the practice of brewing, in order to prevent the abuse of brewed liquors. They urged, that in all parts of Great-Britain there are some parcels of land that produce nothing to advantage, but a coarse kind of barley, called big, which, though neither fit for brewing or for baking, may nevertheless be used in the distillery, and is accordingly purchased by those concerned in this branch, at such an encouraging price, as enables many farmers to pay a higher rent to their landlords



B O O K

III.

1759.

than they could otherwise afford: that there are every year some parcels of all sorts of grain so damaged by unseasonable weather, or other accidents, as to be rendered altogether unfit for bread or brewery, and would prove a very great misfortune to the farmer, if there was no distillery, for the use of which he could sell his damaged commodity. They asserted, that malt-spirits were absolutely necessary for prosecuting some branches of foreign commerce, particularly the trade to the coast of Africa, for which traffic no assortment could be made up without a large quantity of geneva, of which the natives are so fond, that they will not traffic with any merchant who has not a considerable quantity, not only for sale, but also for presents to their chiefs and rulers: that the merchants of Great-Britain must either have this commodity of their own produce, or import it at a great national expense from Holland: that the charge of this importation, together with the duties payable upon it, some part of which is not to be drawn back on exportation, will render it impossible for the traders to sell it so cheap on the coast of Africa as it might be sold by the Dutch, who are the great rivals of Great-Britain in this branch of commerce. To these arguments, all of which were plausible, and some of them unanswerable, it was replied, that malt-spirits might be considered as a fatal and bewitching poison, which had actually debauched the minds and enervated the bodies of the common people to a very deplorable degree: that, without entering further into a comparison between the use and abuse of the two liquors, beer and



geneva, it would be sufficient to observe, that the use of beer and ale had produced none of those dreadful effects which were the consequences of drinking geneva; and since the prohibition of the distillery of malt-spirits had taken place, the common people were become apparently more sober, decent, healthy, and industrious: a circumstance sufficient to induce the legislature not only to intermit, but even totally to abolish the practice of distillation, which has ever been productive of such intoxication, riot, disorder, and distemper, among the lower class of the people, as might be deemed the greatest evils incident to a well regulated commonwealth. Their assertion with respect to the coarse kind of barley, called big, was contradicted as a deviation from truth, inasmuch as it was used in making malt, as well as in making bread: and with respect to damaged corn, those who understood the nature of grain affirmed, that if it was spoiled to such a degree as to be altogether unfit for either of these purposes, the distillers would not purchase it at such a price as would indemnify the farmer for the charge of threshing and carriage; for the distillers are very sensible that their greatest profit is derived from their distilling the malt made from the best barley, so that the increase of the produce far exceeded in proportion the advance of the price. It was not, however, an easy matter to prove that the distillation of malt-spirits was not necessary to an advantageous prosecution of the commerce on the coast of Guinea, as well as among the Indians in some parts of North-America. Certain it is, that in these



## BOOK

III.

1719.

branches of traffic the want of geneva may be supplied by spirits distilled from sugars and melasses. After all, it must be owned, that the good and salutary effects of the prohibition were visible in every part of the kingdom, and no evil consequences ensued, except a diminution of the revenue in this article: a consideration which, at all times, ought to be sacrificed to the health and morals of the people: nor will this consideration be found of any great weight, when we reflect that the less the malt-spirit is drunk, the greater quantity of beer and ale will be consumed, and the produce of the duties and excise upon the brewery be augmented accordingly.

§ X. In the mean time, all sorts of grain continuing to fall in price, and great plenty appearing in every part of the kingdom, the justices of the peace, and of the grand juries assembled at the general quarter-sessions of the peace held for the county of Norfolk, composed and presented to the House of Commons, in the beginning of February, a petition, representing, that the weather proving unfavorable in the harvest, great part of the barley raised in that county was much damaged, and rendered unfit for any other use than that of being made into malt for exportation; that, unless it should be speedily manufactured for that purpose, it would be entirely spoiled, and perish in the hands of the growers; a loss that must be very sensibly felt by the landowners: they, therefore, entreated that leave might be given for the exportation of malt; and that they might be favored with such further relief, as to the House should seem just and reasonable. In  
consequence



consequence of this petition, the House resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the subject; and as it appeared, upon examination, that the price of grain was reduced very low, and great abundance diffused through the kingdom, they resolved, that the continuance of that part of the act, prohibiting the exportation of grain, ought to be abridged and shortened, and the exportation of these commodities allowed, under proper regulations with respect to the time of such exportation, and the allowance of bounties thereupon. A bill being founded on these resolutions, was discussed, and underwent several amendments: at length, it was sent with a new title to the Lords, who passed it without further alteration, and then it obtained the royal sanction.

§ XI. While this affair was under the deliberation of the committee, the Commons unanimously issued an order for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland into Great-Britain, with an instruction to receive a clause extending this permission to all sorts of salted pork, or hog-meat, as the officers of the custom-house had refused to admit hams from Ireland to an entry. The bill likewise received another considerable alteration, importing, That, instead of the duty of one shilling and three pence, charged by the former act on every hundred weight of salted beef or pork imported from Ireland, which was found not adequate to the duty payable for such a quantity of salt as is requisite to be used in curing and salting thereof; and to prevent as well the expense to the revenue, as the detriment

CHAP.

X.

1759.



**B O O K** and loss which would accrue to the owner and im-  
**III.** porter, from opening the casks in which the provision  
**1759.** is generally deposited, with the pickle or brine proper for preserving the same, in order to ascertain the net weight of the provision liable to the said duties — for these reasons it was enacted, That from and after the twenty-fourth day of last December, and during the continuance of this act, a duty of three shillings and four pence should be paid upon importation for every barrel or cask of salted beef or pork containing thirty-two gallons; and one shilling and three pence for every hundred weight of salted beef, called dried beef, dried neats-tongues, or dried hog-meat, and so in proportion for any greater or lesser quantity.

§ XII. Repeated complaints having been made to the government by neutral nations, especially the Dutch, that their ships had been plundered, and their crews maltreated, by some of the English privateers, the legislature resolved to provide actually against any such outrageous practices for the future: and with this view the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in, for amending and explaining an act of the twenty-ninth year of his late Majesty's reign, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of seamen, and more speedy and effectual manning of his Majesty's navy." While the committee was employed in perusing commissions and papers relating to private ships of war, that they might be fully acquainted with the nature of the subject, a considerable number of merchants and others, inhabiting the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, presented a petition to the House, alledging, that the inhabitants of those



islands, which lie in the British channel, within sight of the French coast, had now, as well as in former wars, embarked their fortunes in equipping small privateers, which used to run in close with the French shore, and being disguised like fishing-boats, had not only taken a considerable number of prizes, to the great annoyance of the enemy, but also obtained material intelligence of their designs, on many important occasions; that these services could not be performed by large vessels, which durst not approach so near the coast, and indeed could not appear without giving the alarm, which was communicated from place to place by appointed signals. Being informed that a bill was depending, in order to prohibit privateers of small burden, they declared that such a law, if extended to privateers equipped in those islands, would ruin such as had invested their fortunes in small privateers; and not only deprive the kingdom of the before-mentioned advantages, but expose Great-Britain to infinite prejudice from the small armed vessels of France, which the enemy in that case would pour abroad over the whole Channel, to the great annoyance of navigation and commerce. They prayed, therefore, that such privateers as belonged to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey might be wholly excepted from the penalties contained in the bill, or that they (the petitioners) might be heard by their counsel, and be indulged with such relief as the House should judge expedient. This representation being referred to the consideration of the committee, produced divers amendments to the bill, which, at length, obtained the royal



BOOK

III.

1759.

assent, and contained these regulations: That, after the first day of January in the present year, no commission should be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burden of one hundred tons, the force of ten carriage-guns, being three-pounders or above, with forty men at the least, unless the lords of the Admiralty, or persons authorized by them, should think fit to grant the same to any ship of inferior force or burden, the owners thereof giving such bail or security as should be prescribed: that the lords of the Admiralty might at any time revoke, by an order in writing under their hands, any commission granted to a privateer; this revocation being subject to an appeal to his Majesty in council, whose determination should be final: that, previous to the granting any commission, the persons proposing to be bound, and give security, should severally make oath of their being respectively worth more money than the sum for which they were then to be bound, over and above the payment of all their just debts: that persons applying for such commissions should make application in writing, and therein set forth a particular and exact description of the vessel, specifying the burden, and the number and nature of the guns on board, to what place belonging, as well as the name or names of the principal owner or owners, and the number of men: these particulars to be inserted in the commission, and every commander to produce such commission to the Custom-house officer who should examine the vessel, and, finding her answer the description, give a certificate thereof gratis, to be deemed a necessary clearance, without which the



commander should not depart: that if, after the first day of July, any captain of a privateer should agree for the ransom of any neutral vessel, or the cargo, or any part thereof, after it should have been taken as prize, and in pursuance of such agreement should actually discharge such prize, he should be deemed guilty of piracy; but that with respect to contraband merchandise, he might take it on board his own ship, with the consent of the commander of the neutral vessel, and then set her at liberty; and that no person should purloin or embezzle the said merchandise before condemnation: that no judge, or other person belonging to any court of Admiralty, should be concerned in any privateer: that owners of vessels, not being under fifty, or above one hundred tons, whose commissions are declared void, should be indemnified for their loss by the public: that a court of oyer and terminer, and gaol-delivery, for the trial of offences committed within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, should be held twice a year in the Old Bailey at London, or in such other place within England as the Board of Admiralty should appoint: that the judge of any court of Admiralty, after an appeal interposed, as well as before, should, at the request of the captor or claimant, issue an order for appraising the capture, when the parties do not agree upon the value, and an inventory to be taken; then exact security for the full value, and cause the capture to be delivered to the person giving such security: but, should objection be made to the taking such security, the judge should, at the request of either party, order such merchandise to be entered,

CHAP.

X.

1759.



BOOK

III.

1759.

landed, and sold at public auction, and the produce be deposited at the Bank, or in some public securities; and in case of security being given, the judge should grant a pass in favor of the capture. Finally, the force of this act was limited to the duration of the then war with France only. This regulation very clearly demonstrated, that whatever violences might have been committed on the ships of neutral nations, they were by no means countenanced by the legislature, or the body of the people.

§ XIII. Every circumstance relating to the reformation of the marine must be an important object to a nation whose wealth and power depend upon navigation and commerce: but a consideration of equal weight was the establishment of the militia, which, notwithstanding the repeated endeavours of the parliament, was found still incomplete, and in want of further assistance from the legislature. His Majesty having, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, recommended to the House the making suitable provision for defraying the charges of the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expense already incurred by this establishment were referred to the committee of supply, who, after having duly perused them, resolved, that ninety thousand pounds should be granted on account, towards defraying the charges of pay and clothing for the militia, from the last day of the last year to the twenty-fifth day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, and for repaying a sum advanced by the King for this service. Leave was given to bring in one bill pursuant to this resolution, and another to enforce the



execution of the laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniencies by which it might be attended. So intent were the majority on both sides upon this national measure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the royal assent; but they presented an address to the King, desiring his Majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places in England, to use their utmost diligence and attention for carrying into execution the several acts of parliament relating to the militia. By this time all the individuals that constituted the representatives of the people, except such as actually served in the army, were become very well disposed towards this institution. Those who really wished well to their country had always exerted themselves in its favor: and it was now likewise espoused by those who foresaw that the establishment of a national militia would enable the administration to send the greater number of regular troops to fight the battles of Germany. Yet, how zealous soever the legislature might be in promoting this institution, and notwithstanding the success with which many patriots exerted their endeavours through different parts of the kingdom in raising and disciplining the militia, it was found not only difficult, but almost impracticable to execute the intention of the parliament in some particular counties, where the gentlemen were indolent and enervated, or in those places where they looked upon their commander with contempt. Even Middlesex itself, where the King resides, was one of the last counties

CHAP.

X.

1759.



BOOK  
III.  
1759.

in which the militia could be arrayed. In allusion to this backwardness, the preamble or first clause in one of the present acts imported, that certain counties, ridings, and places in England had made some progress in establishing the militia, without completing the same, and that in certain other counties little progress had been made therein, his Majesty's lieutenants and the deputy-lieutenants, and all others within such counties or districts, were therefore strictly required speedily and diligently to put these acts in execution. The truth is, some of these unwarlike commanders failed through ignorance and inactivity; others gave or offered commissions to such people as threw a ridicule and contempt upon the whole establishment, and consequently hindered many gentlemen of worth, spirit, and capacity from engaging in the service. The mutiny-bill, and that for the regulation of the marine-forces while on shore, passed through the usual forms, as annual measures, without any dispute or alteration\*.

\* The next bill that fell under the cognizance of the House related to a law-transaction, and was suggested by a petition presented in the name of the sheriffs, and grantees of post-fines under the crown of England. They enumerated and explained the difficulties under which they labored, in raising and collecting these fines within the respective counties; particularly when the estate conveyed by fine was no more than a right of reversion, in which case they could not possibly levy the post-fine, unless the purchaser should obtain possession within the term of the sheriffalty, or pay it of his own free will, as they could not distrain while the lands were in the possession of the donee. They, therefore, proposed a method for raising these post-fines by a proper officer, to be appointed for that purpose; and prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill accordingly. This petition was seconded by a message from the



§ XIV. A committee having been appointed to inquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the House touching the revival or continuation of these laws, they agreed to several resolutions; in consequence of which the following bills were brought in, and enacted into laws; namely, an act for regulating the lastage and ballastage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the punishment of persons going armed or disguised; an act for continuing several laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeasurement of coals; and an act for the relief of debtors, with respect

King, importing, that his Majesty, as far as his interest was concerned, gave his consent that the House might act in this affair as they should think proper.

The Commons, in a committee of the whole House, having taken into consideration the merits of the petition, formed several resolutions; upon which a bill was founded for the more regular and easy collecting, accounting for, and paying of post-fines, which should be due to the crown, or to the grantees thereof under the crown, and for the ease of sheriffs, in respect to the same. Before it passed into a law, however, it was opposed by a petition in favor of one William Daw, a lunatic, clerk of the King's silver-office, alledging, that should the bill pass, it would deprive the said Daw and his successors of an ancient fee belonging to his office, on searches made for post-fines by the under-sheriffs of the several counties; therefore, praying that such provision might be made for the said lunatic as to the House should seem just and reasonable. This, and divers other petitions respecting the bill, being discussed in the committee, it underwent several amendments, and was enacted into a law; the particulars of which cannot be properly understood without a previous explanation of this method of conveying estates: a subject obscure in itself, founded upon a seeming subterfuge of law, scarce reconcileable with the dictates of common sense, and consequently improper for the pen of a historian.



BOOK

III.

1759.

to the imprisonment of their persons. This last was almost totally metamorphosed by alterations, amendments and additions, among which the most remarkable were these: that where more creditors than one shall charge any prisoner in execution, and desire to have him detained in prison, they shall only respectively pay him each such weakly sum, not exceeding one shilling and sixpence per week, as the court, at the time of his being remanded, shall direct: that if any prisoner, described by the act, shall remain in prison three months after being committed, any creditor may compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and personal estate, to be disposed of for the benefit of his creditors, they consenting to his being discharged. Why the humanity of this law was confined to those prisoners only who are not charged in execution with any debt exceeding one hundred pounds cannot easily be conceived. A man, who, through unavoidable misfortunes, hath sunk from affluence to misery and indigence, is generally a greater object of compassion than he who never knew the delicacies of life, nor ever enjoyed credit sufficient to contract debts to any considerable amount: yet the latter is by this law entitled to his discharge, or at least to a maintenance in prison; while the former is left to starve in goal, or undergo perpetual imprisonment, amidst all the horrors of misery, if he owes above one hundred pounds to a revengeful and unrelenting creditor. Wherefore, in a country, the people of which justly pique themselves upon charity and benevolence, an unhappy fellow-citizen, reduced to a state of bankruptcy by



unforeseen losses in trade, should be subjected to a punishment, which, of all others, must be the most grievous to a free-born Briton, namely, the entire loss of liberty; a punishment which the most flagrant crime can hardly deserve, in a nation that disclaims the torture; for, doubtless, perpetual imprisonment must be a torture infinitely more severe than death, because protracted through a series of years spent in misery and despair, without one glimmering ray of hope, without the most distant prospect of deliverance? Wherefore the legislature should extend its humanity to those only who are the least sensible of the benefit, because the most able to struggle under misfortune; and wherefore many valuable individuals should, for no guilt of their own, be not only ruined to themselves, but lost to the community? are questions which we cannot resolve to the satisfaction of the reader. Of all imprisoned debtors, those who are confined for large sums may be deemed the most wretched and forlorn, because they have generally fallen from a sphere of life where they had little acquaintance with necessity, and were altogether ignorant of the arts by which the severities of indigence are alleviated. On the other hand, those of the lower class of mankind, whose debts are small in proportion to the narrowness of their former credit, have not the same delicate feelings of calamity. They are inured to hardship, and accustomed to the labor of their hands, by which, even in a prison, they can earn a subsistence. Their reverse of fortune is not so great, nor the transition so affecting. Their sensations are not delicate; nor are they, like their betters in



B O O K

III.

1759.

misfortune, cut off from hope, which is the wretch's last comfort. It is the man of sentiment and sensibility, who, in this situation, is overwhelmed with a complication of misery and ineffable distress. The mortification of his pride, his ambition blasted, his family undone, himself deprived of liberty, reduced from opulence to extreme want, from the elegancies of life to the most squalid and frightful scenes of poverty and affliction; divested of comfort, destitute of hope, and doomed to linger out a wretched being in the midst of insult, violence, riot, and uproar: these are reflections so replete with horror, as to render him in all respects, the most miserable object on the face of the earth. He, alas! though possessed of talents that might have essentially served, and even adorned society, while thus restrained in prison, and affected in mind, can exert no faculty, nor stoop to any condescension, by which the horrors of his fate might be assuaged. He scorns to execute the lowest offices of menial services, particularly in attending those who are the objects of contempt or abhorrence: he is incapable of exercising any mechanic art, which might afford a happy though a scanty independence. Shrunk within his dismal cell, surrounded by haggard poverty, and her gaunt attendants, hollow-eyed famine, shivering cold, and wan disease, he wildly casts his eyes around: he sees the tender partner of his heart weeping in silent woe; he hears his helpless babes clamorous for sustenance; he feels himself the importunate cravings of human nature, which he cannot satisfy; and groans with all the complicated pangs of internal



anguish, horror, and despair. These are not the fictions of idle fancy, but real pictures, drawn from nature, of which almost every prison in England will afford but too many originals.

CHAP.

X.

1759.

§ XV. Among other new measures, a successful attempt was made in favor of Ireland, by a bill, permitting the free importation of cattle from that kingdom for a limited time. This, however, was not carried through both Houses without considerable opposition, arising from the particular interests of certain counties and districts in several parts of Great-Britain, from whence petitions against the bill were transmitted to the Commons. Divers artifices were also used within doors to saddle the bill with such clauses as might overcharge the scheme, and render it odious or alarming to the public: but the promoters of it being aware of the design, conducted it in such a manner as to frustrate all their views, and convey it safely to the throne, where it was enacted into a law. The like success attended another effort in behalf of our fellow-subjects of Ireland. The bill for the importation of Irish cattle was no sooner ordered to be brought in, than the House proceeded to take into consideration the duties then payable on the importation of tallow from the same kingdom, and several witnesses being examined, the committee agreed to a resolution that these duties should cease and determine for a limited time. A bill being formed accordingly, passed through both Houses without opposition; though in the preceding session a bill to the same purpose had miscarried among the peers: a miscarriage



**BOOK** probably owing to their being unacquainted with  
**III.** the sentiments of his Majesty, as some of the duties  
**1759.** upon tallow constituted part of one of the branches appropriated for the civil-list revenue. This objection, however, was obviated in the case of the present bill, by the King's message to the House of Commons, signifying his Majesty's consent, as far as his interest was concerned in the affair. By this new act the free importation of Irish tallow was permitted for the term of five years.

§ XVI. In the month of February the Commons presented an address to his Majesty, requesting that he would give directions for laying before the House an account of what had been done, since the beginning of last year, towards securing the harbour of Milford, in pursuance of any directions from his Majesty. These accounts being perused, and the King having, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, exhorted them to make provision for fortifying the said harbour, a bill was brought in to explain, amend, and render more effectual, the act of the last session relating to this subject; and, passing through both Houses, received the royal assent without opposition. By this act several engineers were added to the commissioners formerly appointed; and it was ordained that fortifications should be erected at Peter-church-point. Westlanyon-point, and Neyland-point, as being the most proper and best situated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was also enacted that the commissioners should appoint proper secretaries, clerks, assistants, and other officers, for carrying the two acts into execution; and that an account



of the application of the money should be laid before parliament, within twenty days of the opening of every session. What next attracted the attention of the House was an affair of the utmost importance to the commerce of the kingdom, which equally affected the interest of the nation, and the character of the natives. In the latter end of February complaint was made to the House, that, since the commencement of the war, an infamous traffic had been set on foot by some merchants of London, of importing French cloths into several ports of the Levant, on account of British subjects. Five persons were summoned to attend the House, and the fact was fully proved, not only by their evidence, but also by some papers submitted to the House by the Turkey-company. A bill was immediately contrived for putting a stop to this scandalous practice, reciting in the preamble, that such traffic was not only a manifest discouragement and prejudice to the woollen manufactures of Great-Britain, but also a relief to the enemy, in consequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war against these kingdoms.

§ XVII. The next object that employed the attention of the Commons was to explain and amend a law made in the last session for granting to his Majesty several rates and duties upon offices and pensions. The directions specified in the former act for levying this imposition having been found inconvenient in many respects, new regulations were now established, importing that those deductions should be paid into the hands of receivers appointed by the King for that purpose; that all sums deducted under this act should

CHAP.

X.

1759.



B O O K

III.

1759.

be accounted for to such receivers, and the accounts audited and passed by them, and not by the auditors of the imprests, or of the Exchequer; that all disputes relating to the collection of this duty should be finally, and in a summary way, determined by the barons of the Exchequer in England and Scotland respectively; that the commissioners of the land-tax should fix and ascertain the sum total or amount of the perquisites of every office and employment within their respective districts, distinct from the salary thereunto belonging, to be deducted under the said act, independently of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land-tax; and should rate or assess all offices and employments, the perquisites whereof should be found to exceed the sum of one hundred pounds per annum, at one shilling for every twenty thence arising, that the receivers should transmit to the commissioners in every district where any office or employment is to be assessed, an account of such offices and employments, that upon being certified of the truth of their amount they might be rated and assessed accordingly; that in all future assessments of the land-tax the said offices and employments should not be valued at higher rates than those at which they were assessed towards the land-tax of the thirty-first year of the present reign; that the word perquisite should be understood to mean such profits of offices and employments as arise from fees established by custom or authority, and payable either by the crown or the subjects, in consideration of business done in the course of executing such offices and employments; and that a commissioner possessed



possessed of any office or employment might not interfere in the execution of the said act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the four last clauses several salaries were exempted from the payment of this duty. The objections made without doors to this new law were the accession of pecuniary influence to the crown, by the creation of a new office and officers, whereas this duty might have been easily collected and received by the commissioners of the land-tax already appointed, and the inconsistency that appeared between the fifth and seventh clauses: in the former of these, the commissioners of the land-tax were vested with the power of assessing the perquisites of every office within their respective districts, independent of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land-tax; and by the latter, they are restricted from assessing any office at a higher rate than that of the thirty-first year of the reign of George II.

C H A P.

X.

1759.

§ XVIII. In the beginning of March petitions were offered to the House by the merchants of Birmingham, in Warwickshire, and Sheffield, in Yorkshire, specifying that the toy-trade of these and many other towns consisted generally of articles in which gold and silver might be said to be manufactured, though in a small proportion, inasmuch as the sale of them depended upon slight ornaments of gold and silver: that by a clause passed in the last session of parliament, obliging every person who should sell goods or wares in which any gold or silver was manufactured, to take out an annual licence of forty shillings, they the petitioners



B O O K

III.

1759.

were laid under great difficulties and disadvantages: that not only the first seller, but every person through whose hands the goods or wares passed to the consumer, was required to take out the said licence; they, therefore, requested that the House would take these hardships and inequalities into consideration, and indulge them with reasonable relief. The committee, to which this affair was referred, having resolved that this imposition was found detrimental to the toy and cutlery-trade of the kingdom, the House agreed to the resolution, and a bill being prepared, under the title of "An act to amend the act made in the last session, for repealing the duty granted by an act of the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty on silver-plate, and for granting a duty on licences to be taken out by all persons dealing in gold and silver-plate," was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. By this new regulation, small quantities of gold and silver-plate were allowed to be sold without licence. Instead of the duty before payable upon licences, another was granted, to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and silver-plate, pawnbrokers, and refiners. This affair being discussed, the House took into consideration the claims of the proprietors of lands purchased for the better securing of his Majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth; and for better fortifying the town of Portsmouth and citadel of Plymouth, in pursuance of an act passed in the last session. We have already specified the sum granted for this purpose, in consequence of a resolution of the House, upon which a bill being founded, soon passed into a law, without oppositions<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> The next bill which was brought into the House related



§ XIX. In the month of April, a bill was brought in for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent importation of cambricks; and while it was under deliberation, several merchants and wholesale drapers of the city of London presented a petition, representing the grievances to which they, and many thousands of other traders, would be subjected, should the bill, as it then stood, be passed into a law. According to their request, they were heard by their counsel on the merits of this remonstrance, and some amendments were made to the bill in their favor. At length it received the royal assent, and became a law to the following effect: It enacted, that no cambricks, French lawns, or linens of this kind, usually entered under the denomination of cambricks, should be imported after the first day of next August, but in bales, cases, or boxes, covered with sack-cloth or canvas, containing each one hundred whole pieces, or two hundred half pieces, on penalty of forfeiting the whole: that cambricks and French lawns should be to the summons issued by the commissioners of the Excise, and justices of the peace, for the appearance of persons offending against, or for forfeitures incurred by the laws of Excise. As some doubts had arisen with respect to the method of summoning in such cases, this bill, which obtained the royal assent in due course, enacted, that the summons left at the House, or usual place of residence, or with the wife, child, or menial servants of the person so summoned, should be held as legal notice, as well as the leaving such notice at the house, work-house, warehouse, shop, cellar, vault, or usual place of residence of such person, directed to him by his right or assumed name; and all dealers in coffee, tea, or chocolate were subjected to the penalty of twenty pounds as often as they should neglect to attend the commissioners of Excise, when summoned in this manner.

CHAP.

X.

1759.



B O O K

III.

1759.

imported for exportation only, lodged in the king's ware-house, and delivered out under like security and restrictions as prohibited East-India merchandise; and, on importation, pay only the half subsidy; that all cambricks and French lawns in the custody of any persons should be deposited, by the first of August, in the king's ware-houses, the bonds thereupon be delivered up, and the drawback on exportation paid; yet the goods should not be delivered out again but for exportation: that cambricks and French lawns exposed to sale, or found in the possession of private persons, after the said day, should be forfeited, and liable to be searched for, and seized, in like manner as other prohibited and uncustomed goods are; and the offender should forfeit two hundred pounds, over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act: that if any doubt should arise concerning the species or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof should lie on the owner: finally, that the penalty of five pounds, inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, on any person that should wear any cambric or French lawns, should still remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witness, before one justice of the peace. — The last successful bill which this session produced was that relating to the augmentation of the salaries of the judges in his Majesty's superior courts of justice. A motion having been made for an instruction to the committee of supply, to consider of the said augmentation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the House that this augmentation was recommended to them by his Majesty.



Nevertheless, the motion was opposed, and a warm debate ensued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, on which a bill was founded. While it remained under discussion, a motion was made for an instruction to the committee, that they should have power to receive a clause or clauses for restraining the judges, comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, present, or entertainment from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any sheriff, jailer, or other officer, upon their several respective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any office or officer of any of the courts of law. Another motion was made, for a clause restraining such judges, barons, and justices, as were comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from interfering, otherwise than by giving their own votes, in any election of members to serve in parliament; but both these proposals, being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. These two motions being over-ruled by the majority, the bill underwent some amendments; and, having passed through both Houses in the ordinary course, was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. With respect to the import of this act, it is no other than the establishment of the several stamp-duties, applied to the augmentation; and the appropriation of their produce in such a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the sums thus granted in parliament. But, on this occasion, no attempt was made in favor of the independency of the judges, which seems to have been invaded by

CHAP.

X.

1752.



B O O K

III.

1799.

a late interpretation of, or rather by a deviation from, the act of settlement; in which it is expressly ordained, that the commissions of the judges should continue in force *quam diu se bene gesserint*; that their salaries should be fixed, and none of them removable but by an address of both Houses of parliament. It was then, without all doubt, the intention of the legislature that every judge should enjoy his office during life, unless convicted by legal trial of some misbehaviour, or unless both Houses of parliament should concur in desiring his removal: but the doctrine now adopted imports, that no commission can continue in force longer than the life of the King by whom it was granted; that therefore the commissions of the judges must be renewed by a new king at his accession, who should have it in his power to employ either those whom he finds acting as judges at his accession, or confer their offices on others, with no other restraint than that the condition of the new commissions should be *quam diu se bene gesserint*. Thus the office of a judge is rendered more precarious, and the influence of the crown receives a considerable re-enforcement.

§ XX. Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, we may number a second attempt to carry into execution the scheme which was offered last year for the more effectual manning the navy, preventing desertion, and relieving and encouraging the seamen of Great-Britain. A bill was accordingly brought in, couched in nearly the same terms which had been rejected in the last session; and it was supported by a considerable number of



members, animated with a true spirit of patriotism: but to the trading part of the nation it appeared one of those plausible projects, which, though agreeable in speculation, can never be reduced into practice without a concomitancy of greater evils than those they were intended to remove. While the bill remained under the consideration of the House, petitions were presented against it by the merchants of Bristol, Scarborough, Whitby, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Lancaster, representing, That, by such a law, the trade of the kingdom, which is the nursery and support of seamen at all times, and that spirit of equipping private ships of war, which had been of distinguished service to the nation, would be laid under such difficulties as might cause a great stagnation in the former, and a total suppression of the latter; the bill, therefore, would be highly prejudicial to the marine of the kingdom, and altogether ineffectual for the purposes intended. A great number of books and papers, relating to trading-ships and vessels as well as to seamen, and other persons protected or pressed into the navy, and to expenses occasioned by pressing men into the navy, were examined in a committee of the whole House, and the bill was improved with many amendments: nay, after it was printed and engrossed, several clauses were added by way of rider; yet still the experiment seemed dangerous. The motion for its being passed was violently opposed; warm debates ensued; they were adjourned, and resumed; and the arguments against the bill appeared at length in such a striking light, that, when the question was put, the majority

C H A P.

X.

1759.



**BOOK** declared for the negative. The regulations which  
**III.** had been made in parliament during the twenty-sixth,  
**1759.** the twenty-eighth, and thirtieth years of the present reign, for the preservation of the public roads, being attended with some inconveniencies in certain parts of the kingdom, petitions were brought from some counties in Wales, as well as from the freeholders of Herefordshire, the farmers of Middlesex, and others, enumerating the difficulties attending the use of broad wheels in one case, and the limitation of horses used in drawing carriages with narrow wheels in the other. The matter of these remonstrances was considered in a committee of the whole House, which resolved that the weight to be carried by all waggon and carts travelling on the turnpike-roads should be limited. On this resolution a bill was framed, for amending and reducing into one act of parliament the three acts before mentioned for the preservation of the public high-ways: but some objections being started, and a petition interposed by the land-owners of Suffolk and Norfolk, alledging that the bill, if passed into a law, would render it impossible to bring fresh provisions from those counties to London, as the supply depended absolutely upon the quickness of conveyance, the further consideration of it was postponed to a longer day, and never resumed in the sequel: so that the attempt miscarried.

§ XXI. Of all the subjects which, in the course of this session, fell under the cognizance of parliament, there was none that more interested the humanity or challenged the redress of the legislature than did the case of the poor insolvent debtors, who



languished under all the miseries of indigence and imprisonment. In the month of February a petition was offered to the Commons in behalf of bankrupts, who represented, That having scrupulously conformed to the laws made concerning bankruptcy, by surrendering their all upon oath for the benefit of their creditors, they had nevertheless been refused their certificates, without any probability of relief; that by this cruel refusal, many bankrupts have been obliged to abscond, while others were immured in prison, and these unhappy sufferers groaned under the particular hardship of being excluded from the benefit of laws occasionally made for the relief of insolvent debtors; that the power vested in creditors of refusing certificates to their bankrupts was, as the petitioners conceived, founded upon a presumption that such power would be tenderly exercised, and never but in notorious cases; but the great increase in the number of bankrupts within two years past, and the small proportion of those who had been able to obtain their certificates, seemed to demonstrate that the power had been used for cruel and unjust purposes, contrary to the intention of the legislature: that as the greater part of the petitioners, and their fellow-sufferers, must inevitably and speedily perish, with their distressed families, unless seasonably relieved by the interposition of parliament, they implored the compassion of the House, from which they hoped immediate favor and relief. This petition was accompanied with a printed case, explaining the nature of the laws relating to bankrupts, and pointing out their defects in point of policy as well as

CHAP.

X.

1752.



B O O K

III.

1759.

humanity; but little regard was seemingly paid to either remonstrance. Other petitions, however, being presented by insolvent debtors imprisoned in different goals within the kingdom, leave was given to bring in a bill for their relief, and a committee appointed to examine the laws relating to bankruptcy.

§ XXII. Among other petitionary remonstrances on this subject, the members were separately presented with the printed case of Captain George Walker, a prisoner in the goal of the King's-Bench, who had been declared a bankrupt, and complained, that he had been subjected to some flagrant acts of injustice and oppression. The case contained such extraordinary allegations, and the captain's character was so remarkably fair and interesting, that the committee, which were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, resolved to inquire into the particulars of his misfortune. A motion was made and agreed to, that the marshal of the prison should bring the captain before the committee, and the Speaker's warrant was issued accordingly. The prisoner was produced, and examined at several sittings; and some of the members expressed a laudable eagerness to do him justice: but his antagonists were very powerful, and left no stone unturned to frustrate the purpose of the inquiry, which was dropped of course at the end of the session. Thus the unfortunate Captain Walker, who had, in the late war, remarkably distinguished himself at sea by his courage and conduct, repeatedly signalized himself against the enemies of his country, was sent back, without redress, to the gloomy mansions of a goal, where he



had already pined for several years, useless to himself, and lost to the community, while he might have been profitably employed in retrieving his own fortune, and exerting his talents for the general advantage of the nation. While this affair was in agitation, the bill for the relief of insolvent debtors was prepared, printed, and read a second time; but, when the motion was made for its being committed, a debate arose, and this was adjourned from time to time till the end of the session. In the mean time, the committee continued to deliberate upon the laws relating to bankruptcy; and in the beginning of June reported their resolution to the House, that, in their opinion, some amendments might be made to the laws concerning bankruptcy; to the advantage of creditors, and relief of insolvents. Such was the notice vouchsafed to the cries of many British subjects, deprived of liberty, and destitute of the common necessities of life.

§ XXIII. It would engage us in a long digressive discussion, were we to inquire how the spirit of the laws in England, so famed for lenity, has been exasperated into such severity against insolvent debtors; and why, among a people so distinguished for generosity and compassion, the goals should be more filled with prisoners than they are in any other part of Christendom. Perhaps both these deviations from a general character are violent efforts of a wary legislature made in behalf of trade, which cannot be too much cherished in a nation that principally depends upon commerce. The question is, whether this laudable aim may not be more effectually accomplished, without subjecting individuals to oppression,



**B O O K** arising from the cruelty and revenge of one another.  
**III.** As the laws are modelled at present, it cannot be  
**1759.** denied that the debtor, in some cases, lies in a peculiar manner at the mercy of his creditor. By the original and common law of England, no man could be imprisoned for debt. The plaintiff in any civil action could have no execution upon his judgment against either the body or the lands of the defendant: even with respect to his goods and chattels, which were subject to execution, he was obliged to leave him such articles as were necessary for agriculture. But, in process of time, this indulgence being found prejudicial to commerce, a law was enacted, in the reign of Edward the First, allowing execution on the person of the debtor, provided his goods and chattels were not sufficient to pay the debt which he had contracted. This law was still attended with a very obvious inconvenience. The debtor who possessed an estate in lands was tempted to secrete his moveable effects, and live in concealment on the produce of his lands, while the sheriff connived at his retirement. To remove this evil, a second statute was enacted in the same reign, granting immediate execution against the body, lands, and goods of the debtor; yet his effects could not be sold for the benefit of his creditor till the expiration of three months, during which he himself could dispose of them for ready money, in order to discharge his encumbrances. If the creditor was not satisfied in this manner, he continued in possession of the debtor's lands, and detained the debtor himself in prison, where he was obliged to supply him with bread and water for his support, until the debt was



discharged. Other severe regulations were made in the sequel, particularly in the reign of Edward the Third, which gave rise to the writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum*. This, indeed, rendered the preceding laws, called statute-merchant, and statute-staple, altogether unnecessary. Though the liberty of the subject, and the security of the land-holder, were thus, in some measure, sacrificed to the advantage of commerce, an imprisoned debtor was not left entirely at the mercy of an inexorable creditor. If he made all the satisfaction in his power, and could show that his insolvency was owing to real misfortunes, the court of Chancery interposed on his petition, and actually ordered him to be discharged from prison, when no good reason for detaining him could be assigned. This interposition, which seems naturally to belong to a court of equity, constituted with a view to mitigate the rigor of the common law, ceased, in all probability, after the restoration of Charles the Second, and of consequence the prisons were filled with debtors. Then the legislature charged themselves with the extension of a power, which perhaps a Chancellor no longer thought himself safe in exercising; and in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy, passed the first act for the relief of insolvent debtors, granting a release to all prisoners for debt, without distinction or inquiry. By this general indulgence, which has even in a great measure continued in all subsequent acts of the same kind, the lenity of the parliament may be sometimes misapplied, inasmuch as insolvency is often criminal, arising from profligacy and extravagance, which

CHAP.

X.

1759.



BOOK

III.

1759.

deserve to be severely punished, Yet, even for this species of insolvency, perpetual imprisonment, aggravated by the miseries of extreme indigence, and the danger of perishing through famine, may be deemed a punishment too severe. How cruel then must it be to leave the most innocent bankrupt exposed to this punishment, from the revenge or sinister design of a merciless creditor; a creditor, by whose fraud perhaps the prisoner became a bankrupt, and by whose craft he is detained in goal, lest, by his discharge from prison, he should be enabled to seek that redress in Chancery to which he is entitled on a fair account! The severity of the law was certainly intended against fraudulent bankrupts only; and the statute of bankruptcy is, doubtless, favorable to insolvents, as it discharges from all former debts those who obtain their certificates. As British subjects, they are surely entitled to the same indulgence which is granted to other insolvents. They were always included in every act passed for the relief of insolvent debtors, till the sixth year of George I. when they were first excepted from this benefit. By a law enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, relating to bankruptcy, any creditor was at liberty to object to the confirmation of the bankrupt's certificate; but the Chancellor had power to judge whether the objection was frivolous or well founded: yet, by a later act, the Chancellor is obliged to confirm the certificate, if it is agreeable to four-fifths in number and value of the creditors; whereas he cannot confirm it, should he be opposed, even without any reason assigned, by one creditor to whom the greatest part



of the debt is owing. It might, therefore, deserve the consideration of parliament, whether, in extending their clemency to the poor, it should not be equally diffused to bankrupts and other insolvents; whether proper distinction ought not to be made between the innocent bankrupt who fails through misfortunes in trade, and him who becomes insolvent from fraud or profligacy: and finally, whether the inquiry and trial of all such cases would not properly fall within the province of Chancery, a tribunal instituted for the mitigation of common law?

§ XXIV. The House of Commons seems to have been determined on another measure, which, however, does not admit of explanation. An order was made in the month of February, that leave should be given to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and render effectual so much of an act, passed in the thirteenth year of George II. against the excessive increase of horse-races, and deceitful gaming, as related to that increase. The bill was accordingly presented, read, printed, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole House; but the order was delayed from time to time till the end of the session. Some progress was likewise made in another affair of greater consequence to the community. A committee was appointed in the month of March, to take into consideration the state of the poor in England, as well as the laws enacted for their maintenance. The clerks of the peace belonging to all the counties, cities, and towns in England and Wales, were ordered to transmit, for the perusal of the House, an account of the annual expense of passing vagrants



**B O O K** through their respective divisions and districts for  
**III.** four years: and the committee began to deliberate  
**1759.** on this important subject. In the latter end of May  
the House was made acquainted with their resolutions,  
importing, that the present method of relieving the  
poor in the respective parishes, where no work-houses  
have been provided for their reception and employ-  
ment, are, in general, very burdensome to the  
inhabitants, and tend to render the poor miserable to  
themselves, and useless to the community: that the  
present method of giving money out of the parochial  
rates to persons capable of labor, in order to prevent  
them from claiming an entire subsistence for them-  
selves and their families, is contrary to the spirit and  
intention of the laws for the relief of the poor, is a  
dangerous power in the hands of parochial officers,  
a misapplication of the public money, and a great  
encouragement to idleness and intemperance: that  
the employment of the poor, under proper direction  
and management, in such works and manufactures  
as are suited to their respective capacities, would  
be of great utility to the public: that settling  
the poor in work-houses, to be provided in the  
several counties and ridings in England and Wales,  
under the direction and management of governors  
and trustees to be appointed for that purpose,  
would be the most effectual method of relieving  
such poor persons, as, by age, infirmities, or dis-  
eases, are rendered incapable of supporting them-  
selves by their labor; of employing the able and in-  
dustrious, reforming the idle and profligate, and  
of educating poor children in religion and industry:  
that



that the poor in such work-houses would be better regulated and maintained, and managed with more advantage to the public, by guardians, governors, or trustees, to be specially appointed, or chosen for that purpose, and incorporated with such powers, and under such restrictions, as the legislature should deem proper, than by the annual parochial officers: that erecting work-houses upon waste lands, and appropriating a certain quantity of such lands to be cultivated, in order to produce provision for the poor in the said houses, would not only be a means of instructing and employing many of the said poor in agriculture, but lessen the expense of the public: that controversies and law-suits concerning the settlements of poor persons occasioned a very great, and, in general, an useless expense to the public, amounting to many thousand pounds per annum; and that often more money is expended in ascertaining such settlements, by each of the contending parishes, than would be sufficient to maintain the paupers: that should work-houses be established for the general reception of the poor, in the respective counties and ridings of England, the laws relating to the settlements of the poor, and the passing of vagrants, might be repealed: that while the present laws relating to the poor subsist, the compelling parish-officers to grant certificates to the poor would, in all probability, prevent the hardships they now suffer, in being debarred gaining their livelihood, where they can do it most usefully to themselves and the public. From these sensible resolutions, the reader may conceive some idea of the misconduct that attends the manage-

C H A P.

X.

1759.



B O O K

III.

1759.

ment of the poor in England, as well as of the grievous burdens entailed upon the people by the present laws which constitute this branch of the legislature. The committee's resolves being read at the table, an order was made that they should be taken into consideration on a certain day, when the order was again put off, and in the interim the parliament was prorogued. While the committee deliberated upon this affair, leave was given to prepare a bill for preventing tenants under a certain yearly rent from gaining settlements in any particular parish, by being there rated in any land-tax assessment, and paying for the landlord the money so charged. This order was afterwards discharged; and another bill brought in, to prevent any person from gaining a settlement, by being rated by virtue of an act of parliament for granting any aid to his Majesty by a land-tax, and paying the same. The bill was accordingly presented, read, committed, and passed the Lower House; but among the Lords it miscarried. It can never be expected that the poor will be managed with economy and integrity, while the execution of the laws relating to their maintenance is left in the hands of low tradesmen, who derive private advantage from supplying them with necessaries, and often favor the imposition of one another with the most scandalous collusion. This is an evil which will never be remedied, until persons of independent fortune, and unblemished integrity, actuated by a spirit of true patriotism, shall rescue their fellow-citizens from the power of such interested miscreants, by taking the poor into their own management and protection. Instead of multiplying laws with respect to the settlement and management



of the poor, which serve only to puzzle and perplex the parish and peace-officers, it would become the sagacity of the legislature to take some effectual precautions to prevent the increase of paupers and vagrants, which is become an intolerable nuisance to the commonwealth. Towards this salutary end, surely nothing would more contribute than a reformation of the police, that would abolish those infamous places of entertainment, which swarm in every corner of the metropolis, seducing people of all ranks to extravagance, profligacy, and ruin; that would restrict within due bounds the number of public-houses, which are augmented to an enormous degree, affording so many asylums for riot and debauchery, and corrupting the morals of the common people to such a pitch of licentious indecency, as must be a reproach to every civilized nation. Let it not be affirmed, to the disgrace of Great-Britain, that such receptacles of vice and impunity subsist under the connivance of the government, according to the narrow views and confined speculation of those shallow politicians, who imagine that the revenue is increased in proportion to the quantity of strong liquors consumed in such infamous recesses of intemperance. Were this in reality the case, that administration would deserve to be branded with eternal infamy, which could sacrifice to such a base consideration the health, the lives, and the morals of their fellow-creatures: but nothing can be more fallacious, than the supposition, that the revenue of any government can be increased by the augmented intemperance of the people; for intemperance is the bane of industry,



BOOK

III.

1759.

as well as of population ; and what the government gains in the articles of the duty on malt , and the excise upon liquors , will always be greatly over-balanced by the loss in other articles , arising from the diminution of hands , and the neglect of labor.

§ XXV. Exclusive of the bills that were actually prepared , though they did not pass in the course of this session , the Commons deliberated on other important subjects , which , however , were not finally discussed. In the beginning of the session , a committee being appointed to resume the inquiry touching the regulation of weights and measures , a subject we have mentioned in the history of the preceding session , the box which contained a Troy pound weight , locked up by order of the House , was again produced by the clerk in whose custody it had been deposited. This affair being carefully investigated , the committee agreed to fourteen resolutions \*. In the

\* As the curiosity of the reader may be interested in these resolutions , we shall here insert them for his satisfaction. The committee resolved , that the ell ought to contain one yard and one quarter , according to the yard mentioned in the third resolution of the former committee upon the subject of weights and measures : that the pole , or perch , should contain in length five such yards and a half ; the furlong two hundred and twenty ; and the mile one thousand seven hundred and sixty : that the superficial perch should contain thirty square yards and a quarter : the rood one thousand two hundred and ten ; and the acre four thousand eight hundred and forty : that , according to the fourth , fifth , and sixth resolutions of the former committee , upon the subject of weights and measures , agreed to by the House on the second day of June in the preceding year , the quart ought to contain seventy cubical inches and one half ; the pint thirty-five and one quarter ; the peck five hundred and sixty-four ; and the bushel two thousand two hundred and fifty-six. That the



mean time it was ordered, that all the weights, referred to in the report, should be delivered to the

CHAP.

X.

1759.

several parts of the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of the former committee, examined and adjusted in presence of this committee, viz. the half pound or six ounces, quarter of a pound or three ounces, two ounces, one ounce, two half ounces, the five-penny weight, three-penny weight, two-penny weight, and one-penny weight, the twelve grains, six grains, three grains, two grains, and two of one grain each, ought to be the models of the several parts of the said pound, and to be used for sizing or adjusting weights for the future. That all weights exceeding a pound should be of brass, copper, bell-metal, or cast-iron; and all those of cast-iron should be made in the form, and with a handle of hammered iron, such as the pattern herewith produced, having the mark of the weight cast in the iron; and all weights of a pound, or under, should be of gold, silver, brass, copper, or bell-metal. That all weights of cast-iron should have the initial letters of the name of the maker upon the upper bar of the handle; and all other weights should have the same, together with the mark of the weight, according to this standard, upon some convenient part thereof. That the yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the House in the last session, being the standard of length, and the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution, being the standard of weight, ought to be deposited in the court of the receipt of the Exchequer, and there safely kept under the seals of the chancellor of the said Exchequer, and of the chief baron, and the seal of office of the chamberlain of the Exchequer, and not to be opened but by the order and in the presence of the chancellor of the Exchequer and chief baron for the time being. That the most effectual means to ascertain uniformity in measures of length and weight, to be used throughout the realm, would be to appoint certain persons at one particular office, with clerks and workmen under them, for the purpose only of sizing and adjusting, for the use of the subjects, all measures of length, and all weights, being parts,



**BOOK** clerk of the House, to be locked up, and brought  
**III.** forth again occasionally.

1759.

multiples, or certain proportions of the standards to be used for the future. That a model or pattern of the said standard yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, and now in the custody of the clerk of the House, and a model or pattern of the standard pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of that committee, together with models or patterns of the parts of the said pound, now presented to the House, and also of the multiples of the said pound, mentioned in this report (when the same are adjusted) should be kept in the said office, in custody of the said persons to be appointed for sizing weights and measures, under the seal of the chief baron of the Exchequer for the time being, to be opened only by order of the said chief baron, in his presence, or the presence of one of the barons of the Exchequer, on the application of the said persons, for the purpose of correcting and adjusting, as occasion should require, the patterns or models used at the said office, for sizing measures of length and weight, delivered out to the subjects. That models or patterns of the said standard yard and standard pound aforesaid, and also models or patterns of the parts and multiples aforesaid of the said pound, should be lodged in the said office for the sizing of such measures of length or weight, as, being parts, multiples, or proportions of the said standards, should hereafter be required by any of his Majesty's subjects. That all measures of length and weight, sized at the said office, should be marked in some convenient part thereof with such marks as should be thought expedient, to show the identity of the measures and weights sized at the said office, and to discover any frauds that may be committed therein. That the said office should be kept within a convenient distance of the court of Exchequer at Westminster; and that all measures of length and weight, within a certain distance of London, should be corrected and re-affixed, as occasion should require, at the said office. That, in order to enforce the uniformity in weights and measures to be used for the future, all persons appointed by the crown to act as justices of the peace in any county, city, or town corporate, being respectively coun-



§ XXVI. The House of Commons, among other articles of domestic economy, bestowed some attention on the hospital for foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national consideration. The accounts relating to this charity having been demanded, and subjected to the inspection of the members, were, together with the King's recommendation, referred to the committee of supply, where they produced the resolutions which we have already specified among the other grants of the year. The House afterwards resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on the state of the hospital, and examine its accounts. On the third day of May their resolutions were reported to the following effect: That the appointing, by the governors and guardians of the said hospital, places in the several counties, ridings, or divisions in this kingdom, for the first reception of exposed and deserted young children would be attended with many evil consequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the said hospital is ties within themselves, throughout the realm, should be empowered to hear and determine, and put the law in execution, in respect to weights and measures only, without any of them being obliged to sue out a *dedimus*, or to act in any other matter, and the said commissioners should be empowered to sue, imprison, inflict, or mitigate such penalties as should be thought proper; and have such other authorities as should be necessary for compelling the use of weights and measures, agreeably to the aforesaid standards. That models or patterns of the said standard yard and pound, and of the parts and multiples thereof, before mentioned, should be distributed in each county, in such a manner as to be readily used for evidence in all cases where measures and weights should be questioned before the said commissioners, and for adjusting the same in a proper manner.



BOOK

III.

1752.

attended with many evil consequences; and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be brought in, founded upon this last resolution; but never presented, therefore the inquiry produced no effect. Notwithstanding the institution of this charity, for the support of which great sums are yearly levied on the public, it does not appear that the bills of mortality, respecting new-born children, are decreased, nor the shocking crime of infant-murder rendered less frequent than heretofore. It may, therefore, be not improperly styled a heavy additional tax for the propagation of bastardy, and the encouragement of idleness, among the common people; besides the tendency it has to extinguish the feelings of the heart, and dissolve those family-ties of blood by which the charities are connected.

§ XXVII. In the month of March leave was given to bring in a bill for the more effectual preventing of the melting down and exporting the gold and silver-coin of the kingdom, and the persons were nominated to prepare it; but the bill never appeared, and no further inquiry was made about the matter. Perhaps it was supposed that such a measure might be thought an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, which hath always exercised the power of fixing the standard and regulating the currency of the coin. Perhaps such a step was deferred on account of the war, during which a great quantity of gold and silver was necessarily exported to the continent, for the support of the allies and armies in the pay of Great-Britain. The legislature, however, would do well to consider this eternal maxim in computation, that when a greater quantity of bullion is exported, in waste, than can be replaced by commerce, the nation must



be hastening to a state of insolvency. Over and above these proceedings in this session of parliament, it may not be unnecessary to mention several messages which were sent by the King to the House of Commons. That relating to the vote of credit we have already specified in our account of the supply. On the twenty-sixth day of April the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented to the House two messages, signed by his Majesty, one in favor of his subjects in North-America, and the other in behalf of the East-India company: the former recommending to their consideration the zeal and vigor with which his faithful subjects in North-America had exerted themselves, in defence of his just rights and possessions; desiring he might be enabled to give them a proper compensation for the expenses incurred by the respective provinces in levying, clothing, and paying the troops raised in that country, according as the active vigor and strenuous efforts of the several colonies should appear to merit. In the latter, he desired the House would empower him to assist the East-India company in defraying the expense of a military force in the East-Indies to be maintained by them, in lieu of a battalion of regular troops withdrawn from thence, and returned to Ireland. Both these messages were referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolutions upon each subject which we have already explained. The message relating to a projected invasion by the enemies of Great-Britain we shall particularize in its proper place, when we come to record the circumstances and miscarriage of that design. In the mean time, it may not be



B O O K

III.

1759.

improper to observe, that the thanks of the House of Commons were voted and given to Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst, for the services they had done their king and country in North-America; and the same compliment was paid to Admiral Osborne, for the success of his cruise in the Mediterranean.

§ XXVIII. The session was closed on the second day of June with a speech to both Houses, from the commissioners appointed by his Majesty for that purpose. In this harangue the parliament was given to understand, that the King approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condescension; that the hopes he had conceived of their surmounting the difficulties which lay in the way were founded on the wisdom, zeal, and affection of so good a parliament, and that his expectations were fully answered; that they had considered the war in all its parts, and notwithstanding its long continuance, through the obstinacy of the enemy, had made such provision for the many different operations as ought to convince the adversaries of Great-Britain, that it would be for their interest, as well as for the ease and relief of all Europe, to embrace equitable and honorable terms of accommodation. They were told that, by their assistance, the combined army in Germany had been completed; powerful squadrons, as well as numerous bodies of land-forces, were employed in America, in order to maintain the British rights and possessions, and annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner in that country: that, as France was making considerable preparations in her different ports, he had taken care to put his fleet at



home in the best condition, both of strength and situation, to guard against and repel any attempts that might be meditated against his kingdoms: that all his measures had been directed to assert the honor of his crown; to preserve the essential interests of his faithful subjects; to support the cause of the protestant religion, and public liberty: he, therefore, trusted that the uprightness of his intentions would draw down the blessing of heaven upon his endeavours. He expressed his hope, that the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the excesses of the privateers would produce the desired effect: a consideration which the King had much at heart; for, though sensible of the utility of that service, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmost to prevent any injuries or hardships which might be sustained by the subjects of neutral powers, as far as might be practicable and consistent with his Majesty's just right to hinder the trade of his enemies from being collusively and fraudulently covered. He not only thanked the Commons, but applauded the firmness and vigor with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging, that, notwithstanding the present burdens, the making ample provision for carrying on the war was the most probable means to bring it to an honorable and happy conclusion. He assured them that no attention should be wanting, on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed he had nothing further to desire, but that they would carry down the same good dispositions, and propagate them in their several counties, which they had shown in their proceedings



BOOK

III.

1759.

during the session. These declarations being pronounced, the parliament was prorogued.

§ XXIX. The people of England, provoked on one hand by the intrigues, the hostilities, and menaces of France, and animated on the other by the pride of triumph and success, which never fails to reconcile them to difficulties, howsoever great, and expense, however enormous, at this period breathed nothing but war, and discoursed about nothing but new plans of conquest. We have seen how liberally the parliament bestowed the nation's money; and the acquiescence of the subjects in general under the additional burdens which had been imposed, appeared in the remarkable eagerness with which they embarked in the subscription planned by the legislature; in the vigorous assistance they contributed towards manning the navy, recruiting the army, and levying additional forces; and the warlike spirit which began to diffuse itself through all ranks of the people. This was a spirit which the ministry carefully cherished and cultivated, for the support of the war, which, it must be owned, was prosecuted with an ardor and efficacy peculiar to the present administration. True it is, the German war had been for some time adopted as an object of importance by the British councils, and a resolution was taken to maintain it without flinching: at the same time, it must be allowed, that this consideration had not hitherto weakened the attention of the ministry to the operations in America, where alone the war may be said to have been carried on and prosecuted on British principles, so as to distress the enemy in their most tender part, and at the same time acquire the most substantial



advantages to the subjects of Britain. For these two purposes, every preparation was made that sagacity could suggest, or vigor execute. The navy was repaired and augmented, and in order to man the different squadrons, the expedient of pressing, that disgrace to a British administration, was practised both by land and water with extraordinary rigor and vivacity. A proclamation was issued, offering a considerable bounty for every seaman and even landman that should, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the service. As an additional encouragement to this class of people, the King promised his pardon to all seamen who had deserted from the respective ships to which they belonged, provided they should return to their duty by the third day of July; but at the same time he declared, that those who should neglect this opportunity, at a time when their country so much required their service, would, upon being apprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and, if convicted, be deemed unfit objects of the royal mercy. All justices of the peace, mayors, and magistrates of corporations throughout Great-Britain were commanded to make particular search for straggling seamen fit for the service, and to send all that should be found to the nearest sea-port, that they might be sent on board by the sea-officer there commanding. Other methods more gentle and effectual were taken to levy and recruit the land forces. New regiments were raised, on his Majesty's promise, that every man should be entitled to his discharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for enlisting were increased. Over and above these indulgences, considerable bounties were offered and given by cities, towns,

CHAP.

X.

1759.



BOOK  
III.  
1759.

corporations, and even by individuals, so universally were the people possessed with a spirit of chivalry and adventure. The example was set by the metropolis, where the common-council resolved that voluntary subscriptions should be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty-money to such persons as should engage in his Majesty's service. The city subscribed a considerable sum for that purpose; and a committee of aldermen and commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the subscriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover resolved, that every person so entering should be entitled to the freedom of the city, at the expiration of three years, or sooner, if the war should be brought to a conclusion. These resolutions being communicated to the King, he was pleased to signify his approbation, and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the secretary of state to the Lord-Mayor. Large sums were immediately subscribed by different companies, and some private persons; and, in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by many different communities in every quarter of the united kingdom. At the same time, such care and diligence were used in disciplining the militia, that, before the close of the year, the greater part of those truly constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be in all respects as fit for actual service.

§ XXX. Before we proceed to record the transactions of the campaign that succeeded these preparations, we shall take notice of some domestic events



which, though not very important in themselves, may nevertheless claim a place in the History of England. In the beginning of the year, the court of London was overwhelmed with affliction at the death of the Princess Dowager of Orange and Nassau, gouvernante of the United Provinces in the minority of her son, the present Stadtholder. She was the eldest daughter of his Britannic Majesty, possessed of many personal accomplishments and exemplary virtues, pious, moderate, sensible, and circumspect. She had exercised her authority with equal sagacity and resolution, respected even by those who were no friends to the house of Orange, and died with great fortitude and resignation<sup>7</sup>. In her will she appointed the King her father, and the Princess Dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and Prince Louis of Brunswick acting tutor to her children. In the morning after her decease, the States-General and the States of Holland were extraordinarily assembled, and having received notice of

CHAP.

X.

1759.

<sup>7</sup> Feeling her end approaching, she delivered a key to one of her attendants, directing him to fetch two papers, which she signed with her own hand. One was a contract of marriage between her daughter and the Prince of Nassau-Weilburgh; the other was a letter to the States-General, beseeching them to consent to this marriage, and preserve inviolate the regulations she had made, touching the education and tutelage of the young Stadtholder. These two papers being signed and sealed, she sent for her children, exhorted them to make proper improvements on the education they had received, and to live in harmony with each other. Then she implored heaven to shower its blessings on them both, and embraced them with the most affecting marks of maternal tenderness. She afterwards continued to converse calmly and deliberately with her friends, and in a few hours expired.



B O O K

III.

1759.

this event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been made for the minority of the Stadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunswick was invited to assist in the assembly of Holland, where he took the oaths, as representing the captain-general of the union. Then he communicated to the assembly the act by which the Princess had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the assembly of the States-General, who agreed to the resolution of Holland with respect to his guardianship; and in the evening, the different colleges of the government sent formal deputations to the young Stadtholder, and the Princess Caroline, his sister, in whose names and presence they were received, and answered by their guardian and representative. A formal intimation of the death of the Princess was communicated to the King her father, in a pathetic letter, by the States-General, who condoled with him on the irreparable loss which he as well as they had sustained by this melancholy event, and assured him they would employ all their care and attention in securing and defending the rights and interests of the young Stadtholder, and the Princess his sister, whom they considered as the children of the republic. The royal family of England suffered another disaster in the course of this year, by the decease of the Princess-Elisabeth-Caroline, second daughter of his late Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales, a lady of the most amiable character, who died at Kew in the month of September, before she had attained the eighteenth year of her age.

§ XXXI. Certain privateers continuing their  
excesses



excesses at sea, and rifling neutral ships without distinction or authority, the government resolved to vindicate the honor of the nation, by making examples of those pirates, who, as fast as they could be detected and secured, were brought to trial, and upon conviction sacrificed to justice. While these steps were taken to rescue the nation from the reproach of violence and rapacity, which her neighbours had urged with such eagerness, equal spirit was exerted in convincing neutral powers that they should not, with impunity, contravene the law of nations, in favoring the enemies of Great-Britain. A great number of causes were tried relating to disputed captures, and many Dutch vessels, with their cargoes, were condemned after a fair hearing, notwithstanding the loud clamors of that people, and the repeated remonstrances of the States-General.

§ XXXII. The reputation of the English was not so much affected by the irregularities of her privateers, armed for rapine, as by the neglect of internal police, and an ingredient of savage ferocity mingled in the national character; an ingredient that appeared conspicuous in the particulars of several shocking murders brought to light about this period. — One Halfey, who commanded a merchant-ship in the voyage from Jamaica to England, having conceived some personal dislike to a poor sailer, insulted him with such abuse, exposed him to such hardships, and punished him with such wantonness of barbarity, that the poor wretch leaped overboard in despair. His inhuman tyrant envying him that death, which would have rescued a miserable object

CHAP.

X.

1759.



B O O K

III.

1759.

from his brutality, plunged into the sea after him, and brought him on board, declaring he should not escape so while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly, he exercised his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigor, until the poor creature expired, in consequence of the inhuman treatment he had sustained. This savage ruffian was likewise indicted for the murder of another mariner, but being convicted on the first trial, the second was found unnecessary, and the criminal suffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild to malefactors convicted of such aggravated cruelty. — Another barbarous murder was perpetrated in the country, near Birmingham, upon a sheriff's officer, by the sons of one Darby, whose effects the bailiff had seized, on a distress for rent. The two young assassins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, so that he hardly retained any signs of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they stripped him naked, and dragging him out of the house, scourged him with a waggoner's whip, until the flesh was cut from his bones. In this miserable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring house, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a desperate resistance. They were tried, convicted, and executed: the sons were hung in chains, and the body of the father dissected. — The widow of a timber-merchant at Rotherhithe being cruelly murdered in her own house, Mary Edmonson, a young woman, her



niece, ran out into the street with her own arms cut across, and gave the alarm, declaring her aunt had been assassinated by four men, who forced their way into the house, and that she (the niece) had received those wounds, in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumstances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt and benefactress with a case-knife, then dragged the body from the wash-house to the parlour; that she had stolen a watch and some silver-spoons, and concealed them, together with the knife and her own apron, which was soaked with the blood of her parent. After having acted this horrid tragedy, the bare recital of which the humane reader will not peruse without horror, she put on another apron, and wounded her her own flesh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithstanding these precautions she was suspected, and committed to prison. Being brought to trial, she was convicted and condemned upon circumstantial evidence, and finally executed on Kennington-Common, though she denied the fact to the last moment of her life. At the place of execution she behaved with great composure, and, after having spent some minutes in devotions, protested she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. What seemed to corroborate this protestation, was the condition and character of the young woman, who had been educated in a sphere above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation without reproach in the country, where she was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circumstances that appeared against her almost amounted to a certainty,

CHAP.

X.

1759.



BOOK

III.

1759.

though nothing weaker than proof positive ought to determine a jury in capital cases to give a verdict against the person accused. After all, this is one of those problematic events which elude the force of all evidence, and serve to confound the pride of human reason. — A miscreant, whose name was Haines, having espoused the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, who possessed a small estate, which he intended to divide among seven children, was so abandoned as to form the design of poisoning the whole family, that by virtue of his wife he might enjoy the whole inheritance. For the execution of this infernal scheme, he employed his own father to purchase a quantity of arsenic; part of which he administered to three of the children, who were immediately seized with the dreadful symptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldest expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple-cakes, which he bought for the purpose, and presented to the other three children, who underwent the same violence of operation which had proved fatal to the eldest brother. The instantaneous effects of the poison created a suspicion of Haines who being examined, the whole scene of villany stood disclosed. Nevertheless, the villain found means to escape. — The uncommon spirit of assassination which raged at this period seemed to communicate itself even to foreigners, who breathed English air. Five French prisoners, confined on board the King's ship the Royal Oak, were convicted of having murdered one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow-prisoner, in revenge for his having discovered that they had forged passes to facilitate their escape.



Exasperated at this detection, they seized this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, stripped him naked, tied him with a strong cord to a ring-bolt, and scourged his body with the most brutal perseverance. By dint of struggling the poor wretch disengaged himself from the cord with which he had been tied: then they finished the tragedy, by leaping and stamping on his breast, till the chest was broke, and he expired. They afterwards severed the body into small pieces, and these they conveyed at different times into the sea, through the funnel of a convenience to which they had access; but one of the other prisoners gave information of the murder, in consequence of which they were secured, brought to trial, condemned, and punished with death.—Nor were the instances of cruel assassination which prevailed at this juncture confined to Great-Britain. At the latter end of the foregoing year, an atrocious massacre was perpetrated by two Genoese mariners upon the master and crew of an English vessel, among whom they were enrolled. These monsters of cruelty were in different watches, a circumstance that favored the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired to rest with his fellows of the watch, consisting of the mate and two seamen, he waited till they were fast asleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having so far succeeded without discovery, he returned to the deck, and communicated the exploit to his associate; then they suddenly attacked the master of the vessel, and cleft his head with a hatchet, which they likewise used in

C H A P.

X.

1759.



B O O K

III.

1759.

murdering the man that stood at the helm; a third was likewise dispatched, and no Englishman remained alive but the master's son, a boy, who lamented his father's death with incessant tears and cries for three days, at the expiration of which he was likewise sacrificed, because the assassins were disturbed by his clamor. This barbarous scene was acted within sixty leagues of the rock of Lisbon; but the vessel was taken between the capes Ortegal and Finisterre, by the captain of a French privateer called *La Favorite*, who seeing the deck stained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ship destroyed, began to suspect that the master and crew had been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder, and they confessed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the captain imparted this detail to the English consul; but the prize, with the two villains on board, was sent to Bayonne in France, where they were brought to condign punishment.

§ XXXIII. We shall close this register of blood with the account of a murder remarkable in all its circumstances, for which a person, called Eugene Aram, suffered at York, in the course of this year. This man, who exercised the profession of a schoolmaster at Knareborough, had as far back as the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, been concerned with one Houseman, in robbing and murdering Daniel Clarke, whom they had previously persuaded to borrow a considerable quantity of valuable effects from different persons in the neighbourhood on false pretences, that he might retire with the booty. He had accordingly filled a sack with these particulars, and



began his retreat with his two perfidious associates, who suddenly fell upon him, deprived him of life, and, having buried the body in a cave, took possession of the plunder. Though Clarke disappeared at once in such a mysterious manner, no suspicion fell upon the assassins: and Aram, who was the chief contriver and agent in the murder, moved his habitation to another part of the country. In the summer of the present year, Houseman being employed, among other laborers, in repairing the public highway, they, digging for gravel by the road-side, discovered the skeleton of a human creature, which the majority supposed to be the bones of Daniel Clarke. This opinion was no sooner broached, than Houseman, as it were by some supernatural impulse which he could not resist, declared that it was not the skeleton of Clarke, inasmuch as his body had been interred in a place called St. Robert's Cave, where they would find it, with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the crown, and discovered the particulars of the murder. The skeleton of Clarke being found exactly in the place and manner he had described, Eugene Aram, who now acted as usher to a grammar-school in the county of Norfolk, was secured, and brought to trial at the York-affizes. There, his own wife corroborating the testimony of Houseman, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death, notwithstanding a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved, from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumstantial evidence. Finding all his



BOOK III. 1759. remonstrances ineffectual, he recommended himself in pathetic terms to the King's mercy; and if ever murder was entitled to indulgence, perhaps it might have been extended, not improperly, to this man, whose genius, in itself prodigious, might have exerted itself in works of general utility. He had, in spite of all the disadvantages attending low birth and straitened circumstances, by the dint of his own capacity and inclination, made considerable progress in mathematics and philosophy, acquired all the languages ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtic dictionary, which, had he lived to finish it, might have thrown some essential light upon the origin and obscurities of the European History. Convinced, at last, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the government, he wrote a short poem in defence of suicide; and, on the day fixed for his execution, opened the veins of his left arm with a razor, which he had concealed for that purpose. Though he was much weakened by the effusion of blood, before this attempt was discovered; yet, as the instrument had missed the artery, he did not expire until he was carried to the gibbet, and underwent the sentence of the law. His body was conveyed to Knareborough-forest, and hung in chains, near the place where the murder was perpetrated. These are some of the most remarkable that appeared among many other instances of homicide: a crime that prevails to a degree alike deplorable and surprising, even in a nation renowned for compassion and placability. But this will generally be the



case among people whose passions, naturally impetuous, are ill restrained, by laws, and the regulations of civil society, which the licentious do not fear, and the wicked hope to evade.

C H A P.

X.

1759

§ XXXIV. The Prince of Wales having, in the beginning of June, entered the two-and-twentieth year of his age, the anniversary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the King received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who seemed born to fulfil the hopes, and complete the happiness of Great-Britain. The city of London presented an address to the King on this occasion, replete with expressions of loyalty and affection, assuring his Majesty, that no hostile threats could intimidate a people animated by the love of liberty, who, confiding in the Divine Providence, and in his Majesty's experienced wisdom and vigorous councils, were resolved to exert their utmost efforts towards enabling their sovereign to repel the insults and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and kingdom. Congratulations of the same kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in professions of attachment; and, indeed, there was not the least trace of disaffection perceivable at this juncture in any part of the island.

§ XXXV. So little were the citizens of London distressed by the expense, or incommoded by the operations of the war, that they found leisure to plan, and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of



BOOK parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge  
 III. over the Thames, from Black-friars to the op-  
 1759. posite shore, about midway between those of Lon-  
 don and Westminster. Commissioners were appoin-  
 ted to put this act in execution; and, at a court  
 of common-council, it was resolved that a sum not  
 exceeding one hundred and forty-four thousand  
 pounds should be forthwith raised, within the space  
 of eight years, by instalments, not exceeding thirty-  
 thousand pounds in one year, to be paid into the  
 chamber of London; that the persons advancing the  
 money should have an interest at the rate of four  
 pounds per cent. per annum, to be paid half yearly  
 by the Chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expira-  
 tion of the first ten years; and that the Chamberlain  
 should affix the city's seal to such instruments as the  
 committee might think fit to give for securing the  
 payment of the said annuities. Such were the first  
 effectual steps taken towards the execution of a lau-  
 dable measure, which met with the most obstin-  
 ate opposition in the sequel, from the narrow  
 views of particular people, as well as from the  
 prejudice of party.

§ XXXVI. The spirit that now animated the ci-  
 tizens of London was such as small difficulties did  
 not retard, and even considerable losses could not  
 discourage. In the month of November the city  
 was exposed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled  
 in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of  
 the Royal-Exchange, which burned with great  
 fury, notwithstanding the assistance of the fire-men  
 and engines employed under the personal direction of  
 the magistracy, consumed a good number of houses,



and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with consternation: some individuals were beggared; one or two perished in the flames, and some were buried in the ruins of the houses that sunk under the disaster.

C H A P.

X.

1759.

§ XXXVII. The ferment of mind so peculiar to the natives of Great-Britain, excited by a strange mixture of genius and caprice, passion and philosophy, study and conjecture, produced at this period some flowers of improvement, in different arts and sciences, that seemed to promise fruit of public utility. Several persons invented methods for discovering the longitude at sea, that great *desideratum* in navigation, for the ascertainment of which so many nations have offered a public recompence, and in the investigation of which so many mathematical heads have been disordered. Some of those who now appeared candidates for the prize deserved encouragement for the ingenuity of their several systems; but he who seemed to enjoy the pre-eminence in the opinion and favor of the public, was Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, who contrived a chair so artfully poised, that a person sitting in it on board a ship, even in a rough sea, can, through a telescope, observe the immersion and emersion of Jupiter's satellites, without being interrupted or incommoded by the motion of the vessel. This gentleman was favored with the assistance and protection of Commodore Lord Howe, in whose presence the experiment was tried in several ships at sea with such success, that he granted a certificate, signifying his approbation; and in consequence of this, Mr. Irwin is said to



BOOK

III.

1759.

have obtained a considerable reward from the board of Admiralty.

§ XXXVIII. The people of England, happy in their situation, felt none of the storms of war and desolation which ravaged the neighbouring countries; but, enriched by a surprising augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the security of peace, and all the pleasures of taste and affluence. The university of Oxford having conferred the office of their chancellor, vacant by the death of the Earl of Arran, upon another nobleman of equal honor and integrity, namely, the Earl of Westmorland, he made a public entrance into that celebrated seat of learning with great magnificence, and was installed amidst the *Encænia*, which were celebrated with such classical elegance of pomp, as might have rivalled the chief Roman festival of the Augustan age. The chancellor elect was attended by a splendid train of the nobility and persons of distinction. The city of Oxford was filled with a vast concourse of strangers. The processions were contrived with taste, and conducted with decorum. The installation was performed with the most striking solemnity. The congratulatory verses, and public speeches, breathed the spirit of old Rome; and the ceremony was closed by Dr. King, that venerable sage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praise of the new chancellor with all the flow of Tully, animated by the fire of Demosthenes.

§ XXXIX. We shall conclude the remarkable incidents of this year\*, that are detached from the prosecution of the war, with the detail of an event

\* In the spring of this year the liberal arts sustained a lament-



equally surprising and deplorable : — A sloop called the Dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New-York, met with such unfavorable weather, that she was detained one hundred and sixty-five days in the passage, and the provision of the ship was altogether expended before the first fifty days were elapsed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their shoes on board : at length, being reduced to the utmost extremity, they agreed to cast lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot should fall might serve for some time to support the survivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galatia, a Spanish gentleman and passenger. Him they shot with a musquet ; and having cut off his head, threw

C H A P.

X.

1759.

able loss in the death of George Frederick Handel, the most celebrated master in music which this age had produced. He was by birth a German ; but had studied in Italy, and afterwards settled in England, where he met with the most favorable reception, and resided above half a century, universally admired for his stupendous genius in the sublime parts of musical composition.

One would be apt to imagine that there was something in the constitution of the air at this period, which was particularly unfavorable to old age, inasmuch as, in the compass of a few months, the following persons, remarkable for their longevity, died in the kingdom of Scotland : William Barne, who had been above seventy years a servant in the family of Brodie, died there, at the age of one hundred and nine. Catharine Mackenzie died in Ross shire, at the age of one hundred and eighteen. Janet Blair, deceased at Monemusk, in the shire of Aberdeen, turned of one hundred and twelve. Alexander Stephens, in Bamff-shire, at the age of one hundred and eight. Janet Harper, at Bains-hole, at the age of one hundred and seven. Daniel Cameron, in Rannach, married when he was turned of one hundred, and survived his marriage thirty years.



BOOK

III.

1759.

it overboard; but the entrails, and the rest of the carcase, they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having, as it were, fleshed the famished crew, they began to talk of another sacrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonstrances of their captain, who prevailed upon them to be satisfied, with a miserable allowance to each per diem, cut from a pair of leather-breeches found in the cabbin. Upon this calamitous pittance, re-enforced with the grafs which grew plentifully upon the deck, these poor objects made shift to subsist for twenty days, at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board one Captain Bradshaw, who chanced to fall in with them at sea. By this time the whole crew, consisting of seven men, were so squalid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and so reduced in point of strength, that it was found necessary to use ropes and tackle for hoisting them from one ship to the other. The circumstance of the lot falling upon the Spaniard, who was the only foreigner on board, encourages a suspicion that foul play was offered to this unfortunate stranger; but the most remarkable part of this whole incident is, that the master and crew could not contrive some sort of tackle to catch fish, with which the sea every where abounds, and which, no doubt, might be caught with the help of a little ingenuity. If implements of this kind were provided in every ship, they would probably prevent all those tragical events at sea that are occasioned by famine.

§ XL. Previous to the more capital operations in



war, we shall particularize the most remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by single ships of war, during the course of this summer and autumn. In the month of February, a French privateer belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de Marigny, having on board near two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by Captain Parker, commander of his Majesty's ship the Montague; who likewise made prize of a smaller armed vessel, from Dunkirk, of eight cannon and sixty men. About the same period, Captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer, of St. Maloes, carrying two hundred men, and two-and-twenty cannon. Two large merchant-ships, loaded on the French King's account for Martinique, with provision, clothing, and arms, for the troops on that island, were taken by Captain Lendrick, commander of the Brilliant; and an English transport from St. John's, having four hundred French prisoners on board, perished near the Western Islands. Within the circle of the same month, a large French ship from St. Domingo, richly laden, fell in with the Favorite ship of war, and was carried into Gibraltar.

§ XLI. In the month of February, Captain Hood, of his Majesty's frigate the Vestal, belonging to a small squadron commanded by Admiral Holmes, who had sailed for the West-Indies in January, being advanced a considerable way a-head of the fleet, descried and gave chase to a sail, which proved to be a French frigate called the Bellona, of two hundred and twenty men, and two-and-thirty great guns, commanded by the Count de Beauhonoire.

C H A P.

X.

1759.



BOOK  
III.  
1759.

Captain Hood, having made a signal to the Admiral, continued the chase until he advanced within half musquet-shot of the enemy, and then poured in a broad-side, which was immediately retorted. The engagement thus begun was maintained with great vigor on both sides for the space of four hours; at the expiration of which the *Bellona* struck, after having lost all her masts and rigging, together with about forty men killed in the action. Nor was the victor in a much better condition. Thirty men were killed and wounded on board the *Vestal*. Immediately after the enemy submitted, all her rigging being destroyed by the shot, the topmasts fell overboard; and she was otherwise so much damaged, that she could not proceed on her voyage. Captain Hood, therefore, returned with his prize to Spithead; and afterwards met with a gracious reception from his Majesty, on account of the valor and conduct he had displayed on this occasion. The *Bellona* had sailed in January from the island of Martinique, along with the *Florissant*, and another French frigate, from which she had been separated in the passage. Immediately after this exploit, Captain Elliot, of the *Æolus* frigate, accompanied by the *Isis*, made prize of a French ship, the *Mignonne*, of twenty guns, and one hundred and forty men, one of four frigates employed as convoy to a large fleet of merchant-ships, near the island of Rhée.

§ XLII. In the month of March, the English frigates the *Southampton* and *Melampe*, commanded by the Captains Gilchrist and Hotham, being at sea to the northward on a cruise, fell in with the *Danaë*, a French



French ship of forty cannon, and three hundred and thirty men, which was engaged by Captain Hotham in a ship of half the force, who maintained the battle a considerable time with admirable gallantry, before his consort could come to his assistance. As they fought in the dark Captain Gilchrist was obliged to lie by for some time, because he could not distinguish the one from the other; but no sooner did the day appear than he bore down upon the Danaë with his usual impetuosity, and soon compelled her to surrender: she did not strike; however, until thirty or forty of her men were slain: and the gallant Captain Gilchrist received a grape-shot in his shoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, yet rendered him incapable of future service: a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer in the vigor of his age, and in the midst of a sanguinary war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of signaling his courage for the honor and advantage of his country. Another remarkable exploit was achieved about the same juncture by Captain Barrington, commander of the ship Achilles, mounted with sixty cannon, who, to the westward of Cape Finistere, encountered a French ship of equal force, called the Count de St. Florentin, bound from Cape François on the island of Hispaniola to Rochefort, under the command of the Sieur de Montay, who was obliged to strike, after a close and obstinate engagement, in which he himself was mortally wounded, a great number of his men slain, and his ship so damaged, that she was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain Barrington obtained the



B O O K  
 III.  
 1759. victory at the expense of about five - and - twenty men killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's shot rendered useless. Two small privateers from Dunkirk were also taken, one called the *Marquis de Bareil*, by the *Brilliant*, which carried her into Kinsale in Ireland; the other called the *Carillon*, which struck to the *Grace* cutter, assisted by the boats of the ship *Rocheſter*, commanded by Captain Duff, who ſent her into the Downs.

§ XLIII. About the latter end of March, Captain Samuel Falckner, in the ſhip *Windſor*, of ſixty guns, cruizing to the weſtward, diſcovered four large ſhips to leeward, which, when he approached them, formed the line of battle a-head, in order to give him a warm reception. He accordingly cloſed with the ſternmoſt ſhip, which ſuſtained his fire about an hour: then the other three bearing away with all the ſail they could carry, ſhe ſtruck her colors, and was conducted to Liſbon. She proved to be the *Duc de Chartres*, pierced for ſixty cannon, though at that time carrying no more than four - and - twenty, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other three that eſcaped, to the French Eaſt-India Company, was loaded with gunpowder and naval ſtores, and bound for Pondicherry. Two privateers, called *Le Chasseur* and *Le Conquerant*, the one from Dunkirk, and the other from Cherbourg, were taken and carried into Plymouth by Captain Hughs, of his Maſteſty's frigate the *Tamer*. A third, called the *Deſpatch*, from Morlaix, was brought into Penzance by the *Diligence* ſloop, under



the command of Captain Eastwood. A fourth, called the *Basque*, from Bayonne, furnished with two-and-twenty guns, and above two hundred men, fell into the hands of Captain Parker, of the *Brilliant*, who conveyed her into Plymouth. Captain Antrobus, of the *Surprise*, took the *Vieux*, a privateer of Bourdeaux; and a fifth, from Dunkirk, struck to Captain Knight, of the *Liverpool*, of Yarmouth. In the month of May a French frigate, called the *Arethusa*, mounted with two-and-thirty cannon, manned with a large complement of hands, under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, submitted to two British frigates, the *Venus* and the *Thames*, commanded by the Captains Harrison and Colby, after a warm engagement, in which sixty men were killed and wounded on the side of the enemy. In the beginning of June an armed ship belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs, by Captain Angel, of the *Stag*; and a privateer of force, called the *Countess de la Serre*, was subdued and taken, after an obstinate action, by Captain Moore, of his Majesty's ship the *Adventure*.

§ XLIV. Several armed ships of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the West-Indies, particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ships with French commodities, all richly laden, by some of the ships of the squadron which Vice-Admiral Coats commanded on the Jamaica station. A fifth, called the *Velour*, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being fortified with twenty cannon, and above one hundred men, fell in with the *Favorite* sloop of war, under the command of Captain

CHAP.

X.

1759.



B O O K

III.

1759.

Edwards, who, after an obstinate dispute, carried her in triumph to Gibraltar. At St. Christopher's, in the West-Indies, Captain Collingwood, commander of the King's ship the *Crescent*, attacked two French frigates, the *Amethyste* and *Berkeley*; the former of which escaped, after a warm engagement, in which the *Crescent's* rigging was so much damaged, that she could not pursue: but the other was taken, and conveyed into the harbour of Basseterre. Notwithstanding the vigilance and courage of the English cruisers in those seas, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that in the course of this year they took above two hundred sail of British ships, valued at six hundred thousand pounds sterling. This their success is the more remarkable, as by this time the island of Guadaloupe was in possession of the English, and Commodore Moore commanded a numerous squadron in those very latitudes.

§ XLV. In the beginning of October, the *Hercules* ship of war, mounted with seventy-four guns, under the command of Captain Porter, cruising in the chops of the Channel, descried to windward a large ship, which proved to be the *Florissant*, of the same force with the *Hercules*. Her commander, perceiving the English ship giving chase, did not seem to decline the action; but bore down upon her in a flanting direction, and the engagement began with great fury. In a little time, the *Hercules* having lost her top-mast, and all her rigging being shot away, the enemy took advantage of this disaster, made the best of his way, and was pursued till eight o'clock next morning, when he escaped behind the isle of Oleron.



Captain Porter was wounded in the head with a grape-shot, and lost the use of one leg in the engagement.

C H A P.

X.

1759.

§ XLVI. Having taken notice of all the remarkable captures and exploits that were made and achieved by single ships since the commencement of the present year, we shall now proceed to describe the actions that were performed in this period by the different squadrons that constituted the naval power of Great-Britain. Intelligence having been received that the enemy meditated an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were prepared at Havre-de-Grace, for the purpose of disembarking troops, Rear-Admiral Rodney was, in the beginning of July, detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coast of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a disposition to execute the instructions he had received. The bomb-vessels being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their shells, and continued the bombardment for two-and-fifty hours, without intermission, during which a numerous body of French troops was employed in throwing up intrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with shot and shells upon the assailants. The town was set on fire in several places, and burned with great fury; some of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants forsook the place in the utmost consternation: nevertheless, the damage done to the enemy was too inconsiderable to make amends for the expense of



BOOK  
III.  
1759.

the armament, and the loss of nineteen hundred shells and eleven hundred carcasses, which were expended in this expedition. Bombardments of this kind are at best but expensive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of prosecuting war, inasmuch as the damage falls upon the wretched inhabitants, who have given no cause of offence, and who are generally spared by an humane enemy, unless they have committed some particular act of provocation.

§ XLVII. The honor of the British flag was much more effectually asserted by the gallant Admiral Boscawen, who, as we have already observed, was intrusted with the conduct of a squadron in the Mediterranean. It must be owned, however, that his first attempt favoured of temerity. Having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that lay there at anchor, he ordered three ships of the line, commanded by the Captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ships that lay close to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. Two small forts they attempted to destroy, and cannonaded for some time with great fury; but being over-matched by superior force, and the wind subsiding into a calm, they sustained considerable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty, in a very shattered condition. The Admiral seeing three of his best ships so roughly handled in this enterprise, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and



M. de la Clue, the French commander of the squadron at Toulon, seized this opportunity, of sailing, in hopes of passing the Straits-mouth unobserved, his fleet consisting of twelve large ships, and three frigates. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded fourteen sail of the line, with two frigates, and as many fire-ships, having refitted his squadron, detached one frigate to cruise off Malaga, and another to hover between Estepona and Ceuta-point; with a view to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in case the enemy should approach. On the seventeenth day of August, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a signal that fourteen sail appeared on the Barbary shore, to the eastward of Ceuta; upon which the English Admiral immediately heaved up his anchors and went to sea: at day-light he descried seven large ships lying to; but when the English squadron forebore to answer their signal, they discovered their mistake, set all their sails, and made the best of their way. This was the greater part of the French squadron commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ships and three frigates had separated in the night. Even now, perhaps, he might have escaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the *Souveraine*, which was a heavy sailer. At noon the wind, which had blown a fresh gale, died away, and although Admiral Boscawen had made signal to chase, and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that some of his headmost ships could close with the rear of the enemy; which, though greatly out-numbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The English Admiral, without



BOOK

III.

1759.

waiting to return the fire of the sternmost, which he received as he passed, used all his endeavours to come up with the Ocean, which M. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock in the afternoon, running athwart her hawse, poured into her a furious broadside: thus the engagement began with equal vigor on both sides. This dispute, however, was of short duration. In about half an hour Admiral Boscawen's mizen-mast and topfail-yards were shot away; and the enemy hoisted all the sail they could carry. Mr. Boscawen having shifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, joined some other ships in attacking the Centaur, of seventy-four guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to surrender. The British Admiral pursued them all night, during which the Souveraine, and the Guerrier, altered their course, and deserted their commander. At day-break, M. de la Clue, whose left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the English squadron crowding all their sails to come up with him, and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to burn his ships, rather than they should fall into the hands of the victors. The Ocean was run ashore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three shot at the English; another captain of the French squadron followed the example of his commander, and both endeavoured to disembark their men; but the sea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the Téméraire and Modeste, instead of destroying their ships, anchored as



near as they could to the forts Xavier and Lagres, in hopes of enjoying their protection; but in this hope they were disappointed. M. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the Ocean was left to the Count de Carne, who, having received one broadside from the America, struck his colors, and the English took possession of this noble prize, the best ship in the French navy, mounted with eighty cannon. Captain Bentley, of the Warspight, who had remarkably signalized himself by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the Téméraire, of seventy-four guns, and brought her off with little damage. Vice-Admiral Broderick, the second in command, advancing with his division, burned the Redoutable, of seventy-four guns, which was bulged, and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made prize of the Modeste, carrying sixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the English Admiral at a very small expense of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board of the British squadron, though the carnage among the enemy must have been much more considerable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French Ambassador at Lisbon, owned that on board of his own ship, the Ocean, one hundred men were killed on the spot, and seventy dangerously wounded: but the most severe circumstance of this disaster was the loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the best bottoms of the British navy.



B O O K

III.

1759.

What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer lost his life in the engagement. Captain Bentley, whom the Admiral dispatched to England with the tidings of his success, met with a gracious reception from the King, who knighted him for his gallantry.

§ XLVIII. As we propose to throw together all the naval transactions of the year, especially those that happened in the European seas, that they may be comprehended as it were in one view, we must now, without regarding the order of time, postpone many previous events of importance, and record the last action by sea that in the course of this year distinguished the flag of Great-Britain. The court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had in the winter projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions; and in the beginning of the year had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coast for carrying this design into execution. Even as far back as the latter end of May, messages from the King to both Houses of parliament were delivered by the Earl of Holderness and Mr. Pitt, the two secretaries of state, signifying that his Majesty had received advices of preparations making by the French court, with a design to invade Great-Britain: that though persuaded, by the universal zeal and affection of his people, any such attempt must, under the blessing of God, end in the destruction of those who engaged in it; yet he apprehended he should not act consistent with that paternal care and concern which he had always shown for



the safety and preservation of his subjects, if he omitted any means in his power which might be necessary for their defence: he, therefore, acquainted the parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his Majesty might, if he should think proper, in pursuance of the late act of parliament, cause the militia, or such part thereof as should be necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occasion should require. These messages were no sooner read, than each House separately resolved to present an address, thanking his Majesty for having communicated this intelligence; assuring him that they would, with their lives and fortunes, support him against all attempts whatever: that, warmed with affection and zeal for his person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring design of an enemy whose fleet had hitherto shunned the terror of the British navy, they would chearfully exert their utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually enable their sovereign not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the blessing of God, turn them to their own confusion. The Commons at the same time resolved upon another address, desiring his Majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places within South-Britain, to use their utmost diligence and attention in executing the several acts of parliament made for the better ordering the militia.

§ XLIX. These and other precautionary steps were accordingly taken; but the administration wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of



B O O K  
III.  
1759.

the navy, part of which was so divided and stationed, as to block up all the harbours of France in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of consequence. We have seen in what manner Rear-Admiral Rodney visited the town and harbour of Havre-de-Grace, and scoured that part of the coast in successive cruises: we have also recorded the expedition and victory of Admiral Boscawen over the squadron of La Clue, which was equipped at Toulon, with a design to assist in the projected invasion. Notwithstanding this disaster, the French ministry persisted in their design; towards the execution of which they had prepared another considerable fleet, in the harbours of Rochefort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by M. de Conflans, and re-enforced by a considerable body of troops, which were actually assembled under the Duc d'Aiguillon, at Vannes, in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats and transports to be used in this expedition were prepared in different ports on the coast of France; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer, called Thurot, who had, in the course of the preceding year, signalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the *Belleisle*, which had scoured the North-Seas, taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to desist, after having received considerable damage. This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great-Britain; for his valor was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding



the pursuit of the British cruisers, who were successively detached in quest of him, through every part of the German Ocean and North-sea, as far as the islands of Orkney. It must be likewise owned, for the honor of human nature, that this bold mariner, though destitute of the advantages of birth and education, was remarkably distinguished by his generosity and compassion to those who had the misfortune to fall into his power, and that his deportment in every respect entitled him to a much more honorable rank in the service of his country. The court of Versailles were not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission from the French King, and was vested with the command of the small armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk. The British government being apprized of all these particulars, took such measures to defeat the purposed invasion as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to those who considered, that, exclusive of the force opposed to this design, they at the same time carried on the most vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, the East and West-Indies. Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by Commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by Rear-Admiral Rodney; Mr. Boscawen had been stationed off Toulon, and the coast of Vannes was scoured by a small squadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had during the summer blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were



B O O K

III.

1759.

connected by a chain of separate cruifers ; so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, was distressed by an actual blockade.

§ L. The French ministry being thus hampered, forbore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invasion seemed to hang in suspense till the month of August, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their designs in that country being baffled by this disaster, they seemed to convert their chief attention to their sea-armament; the preparations were resumed with redoubled vigor; and even after the defeat of La Clue, they resolved to try their fortune in a descent. They now proposed to disembark a body of troops in Ireland. Thurot received orders to sail from Dunkirk with the first opportunity, and shape his course round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to effectuate the disembarkation of his forces. The transports and ships of war were assembled at Brest and Rochefort, having on board a train of artillery, with saddles, and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops, including part of the Irish brigade, was kept in readiness to embark. The execution of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest with a fleet of twenty-three capital ships; while another squadron of smaller ships and frigates, under the command of Captain Duff, continued to cruise along



the French coast, from port l'Orient, in Bretagne, to the point of St. Gilles, in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the British squadron, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and Rear-Admiral Geary, were driven from the coast of France by stress of weather, and on the ninth day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French Admiral, Conflans, snatched this opportunity of sailing from Brest, with one-and-twenty sail of the line and four frigates, in hopes of being able to destroy the English squadron commanded by Captain Duff, before the large fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had sailed from Brest, immediately stood to sea, in order to pursue them; and in the meantime, government issued orders for guarding all those parts of the coast that were thought the most exposed to a descent. The land-forces were put in motion, and quartered along the shore of Kent and Suffex: all the ships of war in the different harbours, even those that had just arrived from America, were ordered to put to sea, and every step was taken to disconcert the designs of the enemy.

§ LI. While these measures were taken with equal vigor and deliberation, Sir Edward Hawke steered his course directly for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron: but, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidstone and Coventry.



BOOK These he directed to keep a-head of the squadron.  
 III. The weather growing more moderate, the former  
 1759. made the signal for seeing a fleet, on the twentieth  
 day of November, at half an hour past eight o'clock  
 in the morning, and in an hour afterwards discovered  
 them to be the enemy's squadron. They were at  
 that time in chase of Captain Duff's squadron, which  
 now joined the large fleet, after having run some  
 risque of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who,  
 when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed  
 the line a-breast, now perceiving that the French  
 Admiral endeavoured to escape with all the sail he  
 could carry, threw out a signal for seven of his ships  
 that were nearest the enemy to chase, and endeavoured  
 to detain them, until they could be re-enforced  
 by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered  
 to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chased,  
 that no time might be lost in the pursuit. Considering  
 the roughness of the weather, which was extremely  
 tempestuous; the nature of the coast, which is in this  
 place rendered very hazardous by a great number of  
 sand-banks, shoals, rocks, and islands, as entirely  
 unknown to the British sailors, as they were familiar  
 to the French navigators; the dangers of a short day,  
 dark night, and lee-shore; it required extraordinary  
 resolution in the English Admiral to attempt hostilities  
 on this occasion: but Sir Edward Hawke, steeled with  
 the integrity and fortitude of his own heart, animated  
 by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted  
 with the importance of the stake on which the safety  
 of that country in a great measure depended, was  
 resolved to run extraordinary



extraordinary risques in his endeavours to frustrate at once a boasted scheme projected for the annoyance of his fellow-subjects. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal, consequently, M. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open sea, without any imputation of temerity: but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not succeed according to his expectation. He kept his fleet in a body, and retired close in shore, with a view to draw the English squadron among the shoals and islands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their rashness and impetuosity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay, and take advantage of the disaster, or, if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots. At half an hour after two the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship as she advanced poured in a broadside on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to those that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him alongside of the French Admiral, who commanded in person on board the Soleil Royal, a ship mounted with eighty cannon, and provided with a complement of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonstrated that he could not obey his command, without the most imminent risque of running upon a shoal, the brave

C H A P.

X.

1759.



BOOK

III.

1759.

veteran replied, "You have done your duty in showing the danger ; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me along-side the *Soleil Royal*." His wish was gratified : the *Royal George* ranged up with the French Admiral. The *Thésée*, another large ship of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, sustained the fire that was reserved for the *Soleil Royal* ; but in returning the first broadside foundered, in consequence of the high sea that entered her lower deck ports, and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a great number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious success, till about four in the afternoon, when the formidable struck her colors. The *Superbe* shared the fate of the *Thésée* in going to the bottom. The *Hero* hauled down her colors in token of submission, and dropped anchor ; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under cover of the darkness. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being entangled among unknown shoals and islands, Sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet ; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the incessant firing of guns of distress, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The *Soleil Royal* had, under favor of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron ; but at day-break M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut,



and she drove a-shore to the westward of Crozie. The English Admiral immediately made signal to the Essex to slip cable, and pursue her; and, in obeying this order, she ran unfortunately on a sand-bank called Lefour, where the Resolution, another ship of the British squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given: but all their men, and part of their stores, were saved, and the wrecks set on fire by order of the Admiral. He likewise detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance to destroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Hero to ashes on the Lefour, where she had been also stranded; and the Juste, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the Loire. The Admiral, perceiving seven large ships of the enemy riding at anchor between Point Penvas and the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them, but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant-masts to be struck. In the meantime, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the Vilaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some occasional batteries erected on the shore, and by two large frigates moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempts of small vessels; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them



BOOK

III.

1759.

within fighting-distance of the enemy. On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconsiderable number of lives was lost, may be considered as one of the most perilous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations; for it not only defeated the projected invasion, which had hung menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great-Britain; but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of consequence in the sequel\*. By this time, indeed, Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk, and directed his course to the North-Sea, whither he was followed by Commodore Boys, who nevertheless was disappointed in his pursuit; but the fate of that enterprising adventurer falls under the annals of the ensuing year, among the transactions of which it shall be recorded. As for Sir Edward Hawke, he continued cruising off the coast of Bretagne for a considerable time after the victory he had obtained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the seven French ships might not escape and join M. Conflans, who made shift to reach Rochefort with the shattered remains of his squadron. Indeed, this service became such a considerable object in the eyes of the British ministry, that a large fleet was

\* During this war, the English had already taken and destroyed twenty-seven French ships of the line, and thirty-one frigates: two of their great ships and four frigates perished; so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to sixty-four; whereas, the loss of Great-Britain did not exceed seven sail of the line, and five frigates. It may be easily conceived how the French marine, at first greatly inferior to the naval power of Britain, must have been affected by this dreadful balance to its prejudice.



maintained upon this coast, apparently for no other purpose, during a whole year, and, after all, the enemy eluded their vigilance. Sir Edward Hawke, having undergone a long and dangerous conflict with tempestuous weather, was at length recalled, and presented to his sovereign, who gratified him with a considerable pension, for the courage and conduct he had so often and so long displayed in the service of his country; and his extraordinary merit was afterwards honored with the approbation of the parliament. The people of France were so dispirited by the defeat of their army at Minden, and the disaster of their squadron at Lagos, that the ministry of Versailles thought proper to conceal the extent of their last misfortune under a palliating detail published in the Gazette of Paris, as a letter from M. Conflans to the Count de St. Florentin, secretary of the marine. In this partial misrepresentation their Admiral was made to affirm, that the British fleet consisted of forty ships of the line of battle, besides frigates; that the Soleil Royal had obliged the Royal George to sheer off; that the seven ships which retreated into the river Vilaine had received very little damage, and would be soon repaired; and that, by the junction of Bompars's squadron, he should be soon able to give a good account of the English Admiral. These tumid assertions, so void of truth, are not to be imputed to an illiberal spirit of vain glory, so much as to a political design of extenuating the national calamity, and supporting the spirit of the people.

§ LII. The alarm of the French invasion, which was thus so happily frustrated, not only disturbed the



B O O K  
III.  
1759

quiet of Great-Britain, but also diffused itself to the kingdom of Ireland, where it was productive of some public disorder. In the latter end of October the two Houses of parliament, assembled at Dublin, received a formal message from the Duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, to the following effect: That, by a letter from the secretary of state, written by his Majesty's express command, it appeared that France, far from resigning her plan of invasion, on account of the disaster that befel her Toulon-squadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpose, and even instigated by despair itself, to attempt at all hazards the only resource she seemed to have left for thwarting, by a diversion at home, the measures of England abroad in prosecuting a war which hitherto opened, in all parts of the world, so unfavorable a prospect to the views of French ambition: that in case the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, under the command of the Duc d'Aiguillon, assembled at Vannes, where also a sufficient number of transports was prepared, should be able to elude the British squadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it, therefore, incumbent upon him, in a matter of such high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to communicate this intelligence to the Irish parliament. He told them, his Majesty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful protestant subjects in that kingdom had been already sufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous designs, and actual preparations made, at a vast expense, in order to invade the



several parts of the British dominions. He gave them to understand he had received his sovereign's commands to use his utmost endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of his Majesty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to resist and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet and shake the security of this kingdom: he, therefore in the strongest manner, recommended it to them to manifest, upon this occasion, that zeal for the present happy establishment, and that affection for his Majesty's person and government, by which the parliament of that nation had been so often distinguished. Immediately after this message was communicated, the House of Commons unanimously resolved to present an address to the Lord-Lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had shown for the safety of Ireland in having imparted intelligence of so great importance; desiring him to make use of such means as should appear to him the most effectual for the security and defence of the kingdom; and assuring him, that the House would make good whatever expense should be necessarily incurred for that purpose. This intimation, and the steps that were taken in consequence of it for the defence of Ireland, produced such apprehensions and distraction among the people of that kingdom, as had well nigh proved fatal to the public credit. In the first transports of popular fear, there was such an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that several considerable bankers were obliged to stop payment; and the circulation was in

CHAP.

X.

1759.



BOOK  
III.  
1759.

danger of being suddenly stagnated, when the Lord-Lieutenant, the members of both Houses of parliament, the lord-mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, engaged in an association to support public credit, by taking the notes of bankers in payment: a resolution which effectually answered the purpose intended.

§ LIII. Howsoever the court of Versailles might have flattered itself that their invading army would in Ireland be joined by a great number of the natives, in all probability it would have been disappointed in this hope, had their purposed descent even been carried into execution, for no signs of disaffection to the reigning family appeared at this juncture. On the contrary, the wealthy individuals of the Romish persuasion offered to accommodate the government with large sums of money, in case of necessity, to support the present establishment against all its enemies; and the Roman catholics of the city of Cork, in a body, presented an address to the Lord-Lieutenant, expressing their loyalty in the warmest terms of assurance. After having congratulated his grace on the unparalleled successes which had attended his Majesty's arms, and expressed their sense of the King's paternal tenderness for his kingdom of Ireland, they acknowledged, with the deepest sense of gratitude, that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his Majesty's mild and auspicious reign. They professed the warmest indignation at the threatened invasion of the kingdom, by an enemy, who, grown desperate from repeated defeats, might possibly make that attempt as a last effort, vainly



flattered with the imaginary hope of assistance in Ireland, from the former attachments of their deluded predecessors. They assured his grace, in the most solemn manner, that such schemes were altogether inconsistent with their principles and intentions: that they would, to the utmost exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and support of his Majesty's royal person and government against all invaders whatsoever: that they should be always ready to concur in such measures, and to act such parts in defence of the kingdom, in common with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, as his grace in his great wisdom should be pleased to appoint; and think themselves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of so known an assertor of liberty, such an important and distinguished governor. Finally, they expressed the most earnest wish, that his Majesty's arms might be crowned with such a continuance of success as should enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and honorable peace. This cordial address, which was transmitted to the Earl of Shannon, and by him presented to the Duke of Bedford, must have been very agreeable to the government at such a critical conjuncture.

§ LIV. Although no traces of disaffection to his Majesty's family appeared on this trying occasion, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that a spirit of dissatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. The present Lord-Lieutenant was not remarkably popular in his administration. He had bestowed one place of considerable importance upon a gentleman whose



BOOK

III.

1759.

person was obnoxious to many people in that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affability and condescension which a free and ferocious nation expects to find in the character of him to whose rule they are subjected. Whether the offence taken at his deportment had created enemies to his person, or the nation in general began to entertain doubts and jealousies of the government's designs; certain it is, great pains were taken to propagate a belief among the lower sort of people, that an union would soon be effected between Great-Britain and Ireland; in which case this last kingdom would be deprived of its parliament and independency, and be subjected to the same taxes that are levied upon the people of England. This notion inflamed the populace to such a degree, that they assembled in a prodigious multitude, broke into the House of Lords, insulted the peers, seated an old woman on the throne, and searched for the journals, which had they been found, they would have committed to the flames. Not content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both Houses whom they met in the streets to take an oath that they would never consent to such an union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed, and their horses killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of those riotous insurgents. A body of horse and infantry were drawn out on this occasion, in order to over-awe the multitude, which at night dispersed of itself. Next day addresses to the Lord-Lieutenant were



agreed to by both Houses of parliament, and a committee of inquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the tumult might be discovered, and brought to condign punishment.

CHAP.  
X.  
1759.

§ LV. When the ministry of England received the first advice that M. Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk with a small squadron of armed ships, having on board a body of land-troops, designed for a private expedition on the coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresses were immediately dispatched to the commanding officers of the forces in North-Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coast of that kingdom in the best posture of defence; and to hold every thing in readiness to repel the enemy, in case they should attempt a descent. In consequence of these instructions, beacons were erected for the immediate communication of intelligence; places of rendezvous appointed for the regular troops and militia; and strict orders issued that no officer should absent himself from his duty, on any pretence whatever. The greatest encomium that can be given to the character of this partisan, is on account of the alarm which the sailing of his puny armament spread through the whole extent of such a powerful kingdom, whose fleets covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been sooner stopped, had Commodore Boys been victualled for a longer cruise; but this commander was obliged to put into Leith for a supply of provisions, at the very time when Thurot was seen hovering on the coast near Aberdeen; and before the English squadron was provided for a prosecution of the cruise, the other had taken shelter at Gottenburgh, in Sweden.



## CHAP. XI.

§ I. *State of the island of Martinique.* II. *Expedition against that island.* III. *Attempt upon St. Pierre.* IV. *Descent on the island of Guadaloupe.* V. *Skirmishes with the islanders.* VI. *Fort-Louis reduced. Fate of Colonel Debrisay.* VII. *The English fleet sails to Dominique.* VIII. *General Barrington takes Gosier, and storms the post of Licorne.* IX. *He takes Petit-bourg and St. Mary's. The island capitulates.* X. *Island of Marigalante taken by General Barrington.* XI. *He returns to England.* XII. *Treaty with the Indians in North-America.* XIII. *Plan of the campaign.* XIV. *Ticonderoga and Crown-Point abandoned by the French.* XV. *General Amherst embarks on Lake Champlain.* XVI. *Niagara reduced.* XVII. *Introduction to the expedition against Quebeck.* XVIII. *General Wolfe lands on the island of Orleans.* XIX. *And takes Point Levi.* XX. *English fleet damaged by a storm.* XXI. *General Wolfe encamps near the falls of the river Montmorenci.* XXII. *And attacks the French intrenchments there, but is repulsed.* XXIII. *Brigadier Murray detached up the river.* XXIV. *Council of war called.* XXV. *The troops land at the heights of Abraham.* XXVI. *Battle of Quebeck.* XXVII. *Quebeck taken.* XXVIII. *Rejoicings in England.*

BOOK  
III.  
1759.

§ I. **H**AVING finished the detail of the actions achieved in the European seas by the naval force of Great-Britain within the compass of the present year, we shall now proceed to record the exploits



of the British arms within the tropics, and particularly the expedition to Martinique and Guadeloupe, which is said to have succeeded even beyond the expectation of the ministry. A plan had been formed for improving the success of the preceding year in North-America, by carrying the British arms up the river St. Laurence, and besieging Quebeck, the capital of Canada. The armament employed against the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe constituted part of this design, inasmuch as the troops embarked on that expedition were, in case of a miscarriage at Martinique, intended to re-enforce the British army in North-America, which was justly considered as the chief seat of the war. What hope of success the administration conceived from an attempt upon Martinique may be guessed from the state of that island, as it appeared in a memorial presented by the French King's lieutenants of its several districts, to the general of the French islands, in consequence of an order issued in November, for holding them in readiness to march and defend the island from the English, of whose design they were apprized. They represented, that the trade with the Dutch was become their sole dependence; that they could expect no succour from Europe, by which they had been abandoned ever since the commencement of the war: that the traders vested with the privilege of trafficking among them had abused the intention of the general; and, instead of being of service to the colony, had fixed an arbitrary price for all the provisions which they brought in, as well as for the commodities which they ex-



B O O K  
III.  
1759.

ported; of consequence, the former was valued at as high a price as their avarice could exact, and the latter sunk as low in value as their own selfish hearts could conceive: that the colony for two months had been destitute of all kinds of provision; the commodities of the planters lay upon their hands; and their negroes were in danger of perishing through hunger; a circumstance that excited the apprehension of the most dreadful consequences; as to slaves, half-starved, all kinds of bondage were equal; and people reduced to such a situation were often driven to despair, seeking in anarchy and confusion a remedy from the evils by which they were oppressed: that the best provided of the inhabitants labored under the want of the common necessities of life; and others had not so much as a grain of salt in their houses: that there was an irreparable scarcity of slaves to cultivate their land; and the planters were reduced to the necessity of killing their cattle to support the lives of those who remained alive; so that the mills were no longer worked, and the inhabitants consumed beforehand what ought to be reserved for their sustenance, in case of being blocked up by the enemy. They desired, therefore, that the general would suppress the permissions granted to particular merchants, and admit neutral vessels freely into their ports, that they might trade with the colonists unmolested and unrestrained. They observed, that the citadel of Port-Royal seemed the principal object on which the safety and defence of the country depended; as the loss of it would be necessarily attended with the



reduction of the whole island: they, therefore, advised that this fort should be properly provided with every thing necessary for its safety and defence; and that magazines of provision as well as ammunition should be established in different quarters of the island. This remonstrance plainly proves that the island was wholly unprepared to repel the meditated invasion, and justifies the plan adopted by the ministry of Great-Britain. The regular troops of Martinique consisted of about twenty independent companies greatly defective in point of number. The militia was composed of burghers and planters distressed and dissatisfied, mingled with a parcel of wretched negro-slaves, groaning under the most intolerable misery, from whence they could have no hope of deliverance but by a speedy change of masters; their magazines were empty, and their fortifications out of repair.

§ II. Such was the state of Martinique, when the inhabitants every day expected a visit from the British armament, whose progress we shall now relate. On the twelfth day of November, in the preceding year, Captain Hughes sailed from St. Helen's with eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of transports, having on board six regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, besides eight hundred marines distributed among the ships of war, this whole force being under the command of Major-General Hopson, an old experienced officer, assisted by Major-General Barrington, the Colonels Armiger and Haldane, the Lieutenant-Colonels Trapaud and Clavering, acting in the capacity of brigadiers. After a voyage of



BOOK

III.

1759.

seven weeks and three days, the fleet arrived at Barbadoes and anchored in Carlislebay, where they joined Commodore Moore, appointed by his Majesty to command the united squadrons, amounting to ten ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches. Ten days were employed in supplying the fleet with wood and water, in waiting for the hospital-ship, in reviews, re-embarkations, councils of war, assemblies of the council belonging to the island, in issuing proclamations, and beating up for volunteers. At length, every great ship being re-enforced with forty negroes, to be employed in drawing the artillery; and the troops, which did not exceed five thousand eight hundred men, being joined by two hundred Highlanders, belonging to the second battalion of the regiment commanded by Lord John Murray in North-America, who were brought as recruits from Scotland, under convoy of the ship Ludlow-castle, the whole armament sailed from Carlisle-bay on the thirteenth day of January: but by this time the troops, unaccustomed to a hot climate, were considerably weakened and reduced by fevers, diarrhœas, the scurvy, and the small-pox; which last disease had unhappily broke out amongst the transports. Next morning the squadron discovered the island of Martinique, which was the place of its destination. The chief fortification of Martinique was the citadel of Port Royal, a regular fort, garrisoned by four companies that did not exceed the number of one hundred and fifty men, thirty-six bombardiers, eighty Swiss, and fourteen officers.

One



One hundred barrels of beef constituted their whole store of provision; and they were destitute of all other necessaries. They were almost wholly unprovided with water in the cisterns, with spare-carriages for their cannon, match, wadding, and language: they had but a small stock of other ammunition, and the walls were in many parts decayed. The only preparations they had made for receiving the English were some paltry intrenchments thrown up at St. Pierre, and a place called Casde-navires, where they imagined the descent would probably be attempted. On the fifteenth day of the month the British squadron entered the great bay of Port-Royal, some of the ships being exposed to the shot of a battery erected on the isle de Ranieres, a little island about half way up the bay. At their first appearance, the Florissant, of seventy-four guns, which had been so roughly handled by Captain Tyrrel, in the Buckingham, then lying under the guns of Fort Negro, along with two frigates, turned up under the citadel, and came to an anchor in the Carenage, behind the fortification. One frigate, called the Vestal, under favor of the night, made her escape through the transports, and directed her course for Europe; where she was taken by Captain Hood, as we have already related. Next day three ships of the line were ordered to attack Fort-Negro, a battery at the distance of three miles from the citadel, which, being mounted with seven guns only, was soon silenced and immediately possessed by a detachment of marines and sailors; who being landed in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and entered

C H A P.

XI.

1759.



BOOK

III.

1759.

through the embrasures with their bayonets fixed; here, however, they met with no resistance. The enemy had abandoned the fort with precipitation. The British colors were immediately hoisted, and sentinels of marines posted upon the parapet. The next care was to spike and disable the cannon, break the carriages, and destroy the powder which they found in the magazine: nevertheless, the detachment was ordered to keep possession of the battery. This service being successfully performed, three ships were sent to reduce the other battery at Casdenavires, which consisted only of four guns, and these were soon rendered unserviceable. The French troops, re-enforced with militia which had been detached from the citadel to oppose the disembarkation, perceiving the whole British squadron, and all the transports, already within the bay, and Fort-Negro occupied by the marines, retired to Port-Royal, leaving the beach open; so that the English troops were landed without opposition, and, being formed, advanced into the country towards Fort Negro, in the neighbourhood of which they lay all night upon their arms; while the fleet, which had been galled by bomb-shells from the citadel, shifted their station, and stood farther up the bay. By ten next day the English officers had brought up some field-pieces to an eminence, and scoured the woods, from whence the troops had been greatly annoyed by the small shot of the enemy during the best part of the night, and all that morning. At noon the British forces advanced in order towards the hill that overlooked the town and citadel of Port-Royal, and sustained



a troublesome fire from enemies they could not see; for the French militia were entirely covered by the woods and bushes. This eminence, called the Morne Tortueson, though the most important post of the whole island, was neglected by the general of Martinique, who had resolved to blow up the fortifications of the citadel: but, luckily for the islanders, he had not prepared the materials for this operation, which must have been attended with the immediate destruction of the capital, and indeed of the whole country. Some of the inferior officers, knowing the importance of the Morne Tortueson, resolved to defend that post with a body of the militia, which was re-enforced by the garrisons of Fort-Negro and Casde-navires, as well as by some soldiers detached from the Florissant: but, notwithstanding all their endeavours, as they were entirely unprovided with cannon, extremely defective in point of discipline, dispirited by the pusillanimity of their governor, and in a great measure disconcerted by the general consternation that prevailed among the inhabitants, in all probability they could not have withstood a spirited and well-conducted attack by regular forces. About two o'clock General Hopson thought proper to desist from his attempt. He gave the Commodore to understand that he could not maintain his ground, unless the Squadron would supply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town of Port-Royal, at a savannah, where the boats must have been greatly exposed to the fire of the enemy, or assist him in attacking the citadel by sea, while he should make his approaches by land. Both these

C H A P.

XI.

1759.



BOOK

III.

1759.

expedients<sup>1</sup> being deemed impracticable by a council of war, the troops were recalled from their advanced posts, and re-embarked in the evening, without any considerable molestation from the enemy. Their attempt on the Morne Tortueson had cost them several men, including two officers, killed or wounded in the attack; and in revenge for this loss, they burned the sugar-canes, and desolated the country in their retreat. The inhabitants of Martinique could hardly credit the testimony of their own senses, when they saw themselves thus delivered from all their fears, at a time when they were overwhelmed with terror and confusion; when the principal individuals among them had resigned all thought of further resistance, and were actually assembled at the public hall in Port-Royal, to send deputies to the English general, with proposals of capitulation and surrender.

§ III. The majority of the British officers, who constituted a council of war held for this purpose<sup>2</sup>, having given their opinion, that it might be for his Majesty's service to make an attack upon St. Pierre,

<sup>1</sup> The Commodore offered to land the cannon on the other side of Point-Negro, at a place equally near the road from the English army to Port-Royal, and even cause them to be drawn up by the seamen, without giving the troops the least trouble. But this offer was not accepted. General Hopson afterwards declared, that he did not understand Mr. Moore's message in the sense which it was meant to imply.

<sup>2</sup> The Commodore did not attend at this council: it was convoked to deliberate upon the opinion of the chief engineer, who thought they should make another landing to the southward of the Carenage. In this case, the pilots declared it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the fleet to keep up a communication with the army.



the fleet proceeded to that part of the island, and entered the bay on the nineteenth. The Commodore told the General, that he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre; but as the ships might be disabled in the attack, so as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any material service; as the troops might be reduced in their numbers, so as to be incapable of future attacks; and as the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe would be of great benefit to the sugar-colonies, Mr. Moore proposed that the armament should immediately proceed to that island: and the General agreed to the proposal. The reasons produced on this occasion are, we apprehend, such as may be urged against every operation of war. Certain it is, no conquest can be attempted, either by sea or land, without exposing the ships and troops to a possibility of being disabled and diminished; and the same possibility militated as strongly against an attempt upon Guadaloupe, as it could possibly discourage the attack of St. Pierre. Besides, Martinique was an object of greater importance<sup>3</sup> than Guadaloupe; as being the principal place possessed by the French in those seas, and that to which the operations of the armament were expressly limited by the instructions received from the ministry. St. Pierre was a place of considerable commerce; and at that very juncture above forty sail of merchant-ships lay at anchor in the bay. The town was defended by a citadel

<sup>3</sup> Only as being the seat of government; for Guadaloupe makes a much greater quantity of sugar, and equipped a much greater number of privateers, with the assistance of the Dutch of St. Eustatia, situated in its neighbourhood.



BOOK regularly fortified; but at that time poorly garrisoned;  
 III. and so situated as to be accessible to the fire of the  
 1759. whole squadron: for the shore was bold, and the  
 water sufficient to float any ship of the line. Before  
 the resolution of proceeding to Guadaloupe was  
 taken, the Commodore had ordered the bay to be  
 sounded, and directed the Rippon to advance, and  
 silence a battery situated a mile and a half to the  
 northward of St. Pierre. Accordingly, Captain  
 Jekyll, who commanded that ship, stood in, and  
 anchoring close to the shore, attacked it with such  
 impetuosity, that in a few minutes it was abandoned.  
 At the same time the Rippon was exposed to the fire  
 of three other batteries, from which she received  
 considerable damage both in her hull and rigging;  
 and was in great danger of running a-ground, when  
 orders were given to tow her out of danger.

§ IV. The whole armament having abandoned the  
 design on Martinique, directed their course to Gua-  
 daloupe, another of the Caribbee-islands, lying at  
 the distance of thirty leagues to the westward, about  
 fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth;  
 divided into two parts by a small channel, which the  
 inhabitants cross in a ferry-boat. The western divi-  
 sion is known by the name of Basseterre; and here  
 the metropolis stands, defended by the citadel, and  
 other fortifications. The eastern part, called Grand-  
 terre, is destitute of fresh water, which abounds in  
 the other division, and is defended by Fort-Louis,  
 with a redoubt, which commands the road in the  
 district of Gosier. The gut, or canal, that separates  
 the two parts is distinguished by the appellation of the



Salt-River, having a road or bay at each end; namely, the great Cul de Sac, and the small Cul de Sac. Guadeloupe is encumbered with high mountains and precipices, to which the inhabitants used to convey their valuable effects in time of danger: but here are also beautiful plains watered by brooks and rivers, which fertilize the soil, enabling it to produce a great quantity of sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and cassia; besides plenty of rice, potatoes, all kinds of pulse, and fruit peculiar to the island. The country is populous and flourishing, and the government comprehends two smaller islands, called All-Saints, and Deseada, which appear at a small distance from the coast, on the eastern side of the island. The British squadron having arrived at Basseterre, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town, and other batteries by which it was defended. A disposition being made for this purpose, the large ships took their respective stations next morning, which was the twenty-third day of January. At nine, the Lion, commanded by Captain Trelawny, began the engagement against a battery of nine guns; and the rest of the fleet continued to place themselves a-breast of the other batteries and the citadel, which mounted forty-six cannon, besides two mortars. The action in a little time became general, and was maintained on both sides for several hours with great vivacity, while the Commodore, who had shifted his pendant into the Woolwich frigate, kept aloof without gun-shot, that he might be the more disengaged to view the state of the battle\*, and give

\* He shifted his broad pendant on board the Woolwich, as



B O O K

III.

1752.

his orders with the greater deliberation. This expedient of an Admiral's removing his flag, and retiring from the action while his own ship is engaged, however consonant to reason, we do not remember to have seen practised upon any another occasion, except in one instance, at Carthagenæ, where Sir Chaloner Ogle quitted his own ship, when she was ordered to stand in, and cannonade the fort of Boca-Chica. In this present attack, all the sea-commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit and resolution, particularly the Captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyll, Trelawney, and Shuldham; who, in the hottest tumult of the action, distinguished themselves equally by their courage, impetuosity, and deliberation. About five in the afternoon the fire of the citadel slackened. The Burford and Berwick were driven out to sea; so that Captain Shuldham, in the Panther was unsustained; and two batteries played upon the Rippon, Captain Jekyll, who, by two in the afternoon silenced the guns of one, called the Morne-rouge; but at the same time could not prevent his ship from running a-ground. The enemy perceiving her disaster, assembled in great numbers on the hill, and lined the trenches, from whence they poured in a severe fire of musquetry. The militia well to direct and keep the transports together in a proper posture for the landing of the troops, and to cover the disembarkation, and also to concert proper measures with the general, who saw the necessity of Mr. Moore's being with him; and requested that he, with the other general officers and engineers, might be admitted on board the Woolwich, in order to consult, and take the earliest opportunity of landing the troops, as the service necessarily required.



afterwards brought up a cannon of eighteen pound ball, and for two hours raked her fore and aft with considerable effect: nevertheless, Captain Jekyll returned the fire with equal courage and perseverance, though his people dropped on every side, until all his grape-shot and wadding was expended, and all his rigging cut to pieces; to crown his misfortune, a box, containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and set the ship on fire; which, however, was soon extinguished. In the mean time, the Captain threw out a signal of distress<sup>5</sup>; to which no regard was paid, till Captain Leslie, of the Bristol, coming from sea, and observing his situation, ran in between the Rippon and the battery; and engaged with such impetuosity, as made an immediate diversion in favor of Captain Jekyll, whose ship remained a-ground, notwithstanding all the assistance that could be given, till midnight, when she floated, and escaped from the very jaws of destruction. At seven in the evening, all the other large ships having silenced the guns to which they had been respectively opposed, joined the rest of the fleet. The four bombs being anchored near the shore, began to ply the town with shells and carcasses; so that in a little time the houses were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with the most terrible explosion; and about ten o'clock the whole place blazed out in one general conflagration. Next day, at two in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Basseterre, where they found the hulls of divers ships which the enemy had set on fire at their

<sup>5</sup> In all probability it was not perceived by the Commodore.



BOOK

III.

1759.

approach : several ships turned out, and endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted and taken by the English squadron. At five the troops landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. They learned from a Genoese deserter, that the regular troops of the island consisted of five companies only, the number of the whole not exceeding one hundred men ; and that they had laid a train to blow up the powder - magazine in the citadel : but had been obliged to retreat with such precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this design. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine secured. The nails with which they had spiked up their cannon were drilled out by the matrosses ; and in the mean time the British colors were hoisted on the parapet. Part of the troops took possession of an advantageous post on an eminence, and part entered the town, which still continued burning with great violence. In the morning, at day - break, the enemy appeared, to the number of two thousand, about four miles from the town, as if they intended to throw up intrenchments in the neighbourhood of a house where the governor had fixed his head - quarters, declaring he would maintain his ground to the last extremity. To this resolution, indeed, he was encouraged by the nature of the ground, and the neighbourhood of a pass called the Dos d'Ane, a cleft through a mountainous ridge, opening a communication with Capesterre, a more level and beautiful part of the island. The ascent from Basseterre to this pass was so very steep, and the way so broken and



interrupted by rocks and gullies, that there was no prospect of attacking it with success, except at the first landing, when the inhabitants were under the dominion of a panic. They very soon recovered their spirits and recollection, assembled and fortified themselves among the hills, armed and arrayed their negroes, and affected to hold the invaders at defiance. A flag of truce being sent, with offers of terms to their governor, the Chevalier d'Etreil, he rejected them in a letter, with which his subsequent conduct but ill agreed. Indeed from the beginning, his

CHAP.

XI.

1759.

The letter was to this effect:

*To their Excellencies Messrs. Hopson and Moore, General Officers of his Britannic Majesty, at Basseterre.*

"Gentlemen,

"I Have received the letter, which your Excellencies have done me the honor to write, of the twenty-fifth. You make me proposals which could arise from nothing but the facility with which you have got possession of the little town and citadel of Basseterre; for otherwise you ought to do me the justice to believe they could not be received. You have strength sufficient to subdue the exteriors of the island; but with respect to the interiors, the match between us is equal. As to the consequences that may attend my refusal, I am persuaded they will be no other than such as are prescribed by the laws of war. Should we be disappointed in this particular, we have a master powerful enough to revenge any injury we may sustain. I am, with respect,

"Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient servant.

"NADAU d'ETREIL."

It is pretty remarkable, that the apprehension of cruel usage from the English, who are undoubtedly the most generous and humane enemies under the sun, not only prevailed among the common French soldiery throughout this whole war, but even



BOOK

III.

1759.

deportment had been such as gave a very unfavorable impression of his character. When the British squadron advanced to the attack, instead of visiting in person the citadel and the batteries, in order to encourage and animate his people by his exhortation and example, he retired out of the reach of danger to a distant plantation, where he remained a tame spectator of the destruction in which his principal town and citadel were involved. Next morning, when he ought to have exerted himself in preventing the disembarkation of the English troops, who had a difficult shore and violent surf to surmount, and when he might have defended the intrenchments and lines which had been made to oppose their landing; he abandoned all these advantages, and took shelter among the mountains, that were deemed inaccessible.

§ V. But, howsoever deficient the governor might have been in the article of courage, certain it is the inhabitants behaved with great spirit and activity in defence of their country. They continually harassed the scouring detachments, by firing upon them from woods and sugar-plantations, which last the English burned about their ears in resentment. Their armed negroes were very expert in this kind of bush-fighting. The natives or militia appeared in considerable parties, and even encountered detached bodies of the British army. A lady of masculine courage, whose name was Ducharmey, having armed her infected officers of distinction, who ought to have been exempted from these prejudices, by a better acquaintance with life, and a more liberal turn of thinking.



slaves, they made several bold attempts upon an advanced post, occupied by Major Melville, and threw up intrenchments upon a hill opposite to the station of this officer, who had all along signalized himself by his uncommon intrepidity, vigilance, and conduct. At length the works of this virago were stormed by a regular detachment, which, after an obstinate and dangerous conflict, entered the intrenchment sword in hand, and burned the houses and plantations. Some of the enemy were killed, and a great number taken. Of the English detachment twelve soldiers were slain, and thirty wounded, including three subaltern officers, one of whom lost his arm. The greatest body of the enemy always appeared at the governor's head-quarters, where they had raised a redoubt, and thrown up intrenchments. From these a considerable detachment advanced on the sixth day of February, in the morning, towards the citadel, and fell in with an English party, whom they engaged with great vivacity; but, after a short though warm dispute, they were obliged to retire, with some loss. Without all doubt, the inhabitants of Guadaloupe pursued the most sensible plan that could possibly have been projected for their own safety. Instead of hazarding a general engagement against regular troops, in which they could have no prospect of success, they resolved to weary them out, by maintaining a kind of petty war in separate parties, to alarm and harass the English with hard duty in a sultry climate, where they were but indifferently supplied with provision and refreshment. Nor were



B O O K

III.

1759.

their hopes in this particular disappointed. Both the army and the navy were invaded with fevers and other diseases, epidemical in those hot countries; and the regimental hospitals were so crowded, that it was judged convenient to send five hundred sick men to the island of Antigua, where they might be properly attended.

§ VI. In the mean time, the reduction of the islanders on the side of Guadaloupe appearing more and more impracticable, the General resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern and more fertile part of the island, called Grand-terre, which, as we have already observed, was defended by a strong battery, called Fort-Louis. In pursuance of this determination, the great ships were sent round to Grand-terre, in order to reduce this fortification, which they accordingly attacked on the thirteenth day of February. After a severe cannonading, which lasted six hours, a body of marines being landed, with the Highlanders<sup>7</sup>, they drove the enemy from their intrenchments sword in hand, and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colors. In a few days after this exploit, General Hopson dying at Basseterre, the chief command devolved on General Barrington, who resolved to prosecute the final reduction of the island with vigor and dispatch. As one step towards this conquest, the Commodore ordered two ships of war to cruise off the island of St. Eustatia, and prevent the Dutch traders from assisting the natives of

<sup>7</sup> A re-enforcement of two or three hundred Highlanders had joined the fleet immediately before the troops landed on Guadaloupe.



Guadaloupe, whom they had hitherto constantly supplied with provisions, since they retired to the mountains. General Barrington, on the very first day of his command, ordered the troops who were encamped to strike their tents and huts, that the enemy might imagine he intended to remain in this quarter; but in a few days the batteries in and about Basseterre were blown up and destroyed, the detachments recalled from the advanced posts, and the whole army re-embarked, except one regiment, with a detachment of artillery, left in garrison at the citadel, the command of which was bestowed on Colonel Debrisay, an accomplished officer of great experience. The enemy no sooner perceived the coast clear than they descended from the hills, and endeavoured to take possession of the town, from which however they were driven by the fire of the citadel. They afterwards erected a battery, from whence they annoyed this fortification both with shot and shells, and even threatened a regular attack; but as often as they approached the place, they were repulsed by sallies from the castle\*. In the midst of these hostilities, the gallant Debrisay, together with Major Trollop, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and several common soldiers, were blown up, and perished, by the explosion of a powder-magazine at the flanked angle of the south-east bastion. The confusion necessarily produced by such an unfortunate accident encouraged the enemy to come pouring down from the hills, in order to make their advantage of the disaster; but they were soon repulsed by the

\* The battery which they raised was attacked at noon, taken, and destroyed by Captain Blomer, of the sixty-first regiment.



BOOK III. 1759. fire of the garrison. The General, being made acquainted with the fate of Colonel Debrisay, conferred the government of the fort upon Major Melvil, and sent thither the chief engineer to repair and improve the fortifications.

§ VII. In the mean time, Commodore Moore having received certain intelligence that Mons. de Bompert had arrived at Martinique, with a squadron, consisting of eight sail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole battalion of Swiss, and some other troops, to re-enforce the garrisons of the island, he called in his cruisers, and sailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an island to windward, at the distance of nine leagues from Guadeloupe, whence he could always sail to oppose any designs which the French commander might form against the operations of the British armaments. For what reason Mr. Moore did not sail immediately to the bay of Port-Royal in Martinique, where he knew the French squadron lay at anchor, we shall not pretend to determine. Had he taken that step M. Bompert must either have given him battle, or retired into the Carenage, behind the citadel; in which last case, the English commander might have anchored between Pigeon-island and Fort-Negro, and thus blocked him up effectually. By retiring to Dominique, he left the sea open to French privateers, who roved along the coasts of these islands, and in a very little time carried into Martinique above fourscore merchant-ships belonging to the subjects of Great-Britain. These continual depredations committed under the nose of the English Commodore



Commodore irritated the planters of the English islands, some of whom are said to have circulated unfavorable reports of that gentleman's character <sup>9</sup>.

CHAP.

XI.

1759.

§ VIII. General Barrington being left with no more than one ship of forty guns for the protection of the transports, formed a plan of prosecuting the war in Guadaloupe by detachments, and the success fully answered his expectation. He determined to make a descent on the division of the island called Grand-terre, and for that purpose allotted six hundred men; who, under the command of Colonel Crump, landed between the towns of St. Anne and St. François, and destroyed some batteries of the enemy, from whom

<sup>9</sup> The reasons assigned by the Commodore for his conduct in this particular are these: — The bay of Dominique was the only place in which he could rendezvous and unite his squadron. Here he refreshed his men, who were grown sickly in consequence of subsisting on salt-provision. Here he supplied his ships with plenty of fresh water. Here he had intercourse once or twice every day with General Barrington, by means of small vessels which passed and repassed from one island to the other. By remaining in this situation, he likewise maintained a communication with the English Leeward-Islands, which being in a defenceless condition, their inhabitants were constantly soliciting the Commodore's protection; and here he supported the army, the commander of which was unwilling that he should remove to a greater distance. Had he sailed to Port-Royal, he would have found the enemy's squadron so disposed, that he could not have attacked them, unless M. de Bompert had been inclined to hazard an action. Had he anchored in the bay, all his cruisers must have been employed in conveying provisions and stores to the squadron. There he could not have procured either fresh provisions or water; nor could he have had any communication with, nor intelligence from, the army in the Leeward Islands, in less than eight or ten days.



**B O O K** he sustained very little opposition. While he was thus  
 III. employed, a detachment of three hundred men at-  
 1759. tacked the town of Gosier, which, notwithstanding a  
 severe fire, they took by storm, drove the garrison  
 into the woods, set fire to the place, and demolished  
 the battery and intrenchment raised for its defence.  
 This service being happily performed, the detach-  
 ment was ordered to force their way to Fort-Louis,  
 while the garrison of that castle was directed to make  
 two sallies, in order to favor their irruption. They  
 accordingly penetrated with some loss sustained in  
 forcing a strong pass, and took possession of a battery  
 which the enemy had raised against the English camp  
 in the neighbourhood of Fort-Louis. The General,  
 having hitherto succeeded in his designs, formed the  
 scheme of surprising at one time the three towns of  
 Petit-bourg, Gonoyave, and S. Mary, situated on  
 the Basseterre-side of the little Cul de Sac, and com-  
 mitted the execution of it to the Colonels Crump and  
 Clavering: but the night appointed for the service  
 proved exceedingly dark and tempestuous, and the  
 Negro-conductors were so frightened, that they ran  
 several of the flat-bottomed boats on the shoals that  
 skirt this part of the island. Colonel Clavering landed  
 with about eighty men; but found himself so entan-  
 gled with mangrove trees, and the mud so impassably  
 deep, that he was obliged to re-embark, though not  
 before the enemy had discovered his design. This  
 project having miscarried, the general detached  
 the same commanders, whose gallantry and conduct  
 cannot be sufficiently applauded, with a detachment  
 of fifteen hundred men, including one hundred  
 and fifty volunteers from Antigua, to land in a



bay not far from the town of Arnouville, at the bottom of the little Cul de Sac, under the protection of his Majesty's ship Woolwich. The enemy made no opposition to their landing; but retreated, as the English advanced, to a strong intrenchment thrown up behind the river Licorne, a post of the utmost importance, as it covered the whole country as far as the bay of Mahaut, where provisions and supplies of all sorts were landed from St. Eustatia. The river was rendered inaccessible by a morass, covered with mangroves, except at two narrow passes, which they had fortified with a redoubt, and intrenchments well pallisaded, mounted with cannon, and defended by a numerous militia: besides, the narrow roads, through which only they could be attacked, were intersected with deep and wide ditches. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the English commanders determined to hazard an assault. While four field-pieces and two howitzers maintained a constant fire upon the top of the intrenchments, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders advanced under this cover, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity. The enemy, intimidated by their cool and resolute behaviour, began to abandon the first intrenchment on the left. Then the Highlanders drawing their swords, and sustained by part of the regiment, threw themselves in with their usual impetuosity, and followed the fugitives pell-mell into the redoubt, of which they took possession: but they still maintained their ground within the intrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed the assailants both with musketry and cannon. In half



B O O K

III.

1759.

an hour, an occasional bridge being made, the English troops passed the river, in order to attack this post, which the enemy abandoned with precipitation: notwithstanding all their haste, however, about seventy were taken prisoners, and among these some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island. This advantage cost the English two officers and thirteen men killed, and above fifty wounded.

§ IX. The roads being mended for the passage of the artillery, the troops advanced towards Petit-bourg, harassed in their march by flying bodies of the enemy, and arrived late at night on the banks of the river Lizarde, the only ford of which the French had fortified with strong intrenchments, protected by a battery of four cannon, erected on a rising ground in their rear. Colonel Clavering, while he amused them all night at this place by a constant fire into their lines, transported in two canoes, which he launched about a mile and a half farther down the river, a sufficient number of troops, by day-break, to attack them on the other side in flank, while he advanced in front at the head of his little army; but they did not think proper to sustain the assault. On the contrary, they no sooner perceived his intention, than they forsook the post, and fled without order. Colonel Clavering, having passed the river, pursued them to Petit-bourg, which they had also fortified; and here he found Captain Uvedale, of the Grenada bomb-ketch, throwing shells into the redoubt. He forthwith sent detachments to occupy the neighbouring heights; a circumstance which the enemy no sooner observed, than they deserted the place, and



retired with great expedition. On the fifteenth day of April Captain Steele destroyed a battery at Gonoyave, a strong post, which, though it might have been defended against an army, the French abandoned at his approach, after having made a hasty discharge of their artillery. At the same time Colonel Crump was detached with seven hundred men to the bay of Mahaut, where he burned the town and batteries, which he found abandoned, together with a vast quantity of provisions, which had been brought from the island of St. Eustatia. Colonel Clavering, having left a small garrison at Petit-bourg, began his march on the twentieth day of the month towards St. Mary's, where he understood the enemy had collected their whole force, thrown up intrenchments, and raised barricadoes: but they had left their rear unguarded. The English commander immediately detached Colonel Barlow, with a body of troops to attack them from that quarter, while he himself advanced against the front of their intrenchment. They stood but one cannon-shot, and then fled to their lines and batteries at St. Mary's, the flanks of which were covered with woods and precipices. When they perceived the English troops endeavouring to surmount these difficulties, and turn their lines, they quitted them, in order to oppose the design; and were immediately attacked with such vivacity, in the face of a severe fire of musketry and cannon, that they abandoned their ground, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the field and all their artillery to the victors, who took up their quarters for the night at St. Mary's. Next day, they



BOOK

III.

1759.

entered the charming country of Capesterre, where eight hundred and seventy negroes belonging to one planter surrendered at discretion. Here Colonel Clavering was met by Messieurs de Clainvilliers and Duqueruy, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island to know what capitulation would be granted. These he conducted to Petit-bourg, where they were presented to General Barrington, who considering the absence of the fleet, the small number of his forces, daily diminishing, the difficulty, of the country, and the possibility of the enemy's being re-enforced from Martinique, wisely took the advantage of their present panic, and settled terms of capitulation without delay. The sanity of this resolution soon appeared. The inhabitants had just signed the agreement, when a messenger arrived in their camp, with information, that M. de Beauharnois, the general of the French islands, had landed at St. Anne's, to the windward, with a re-enforcement from Martinique, consisting of six hundred regulars from Europe, about fifteen hundred volunteers, besides a great number of the militia drafted from the companies of Martinique, with a great supply of arms and ammunition, mortars and artillery, under convoy of the squadron commanded by M. de Bompert, who no sooner learned that the capitulation was signed, than he re-embarked the troops and stores with all possible expedition, and returned to Martinique. Thus we see the conquest of this important island, which is said to produce a greater quantity of sugar than is made in any of the English plantations, was as much owing to accident as to the



valor of the troops and the conduct of the general: for, had the re-enforcement arrived an hour sooner than it actually landed, in all probability the English would have found it impracticable to finish the reduction of Guadaloupe. Be that as it may, the natives certainly deserved great commendation, not only for persevering so gallantly in defence of their country, but also for their fortitude in bearing every species of distress. They now quitted the Dos d'Ane, and all their other posts, and returned to their respective habitations. The town of Basseterre being reduced to a heap of ashes, the inhabitants began to clear away the rubbish, and erect occasional sheds, where they resumed their several occupations with that good-humor so peculiar to the French nation; and General Barrington humanely indulged them with all the assistance in his power.

§ X. The small islands of Deseada, Los Santos, and Petit-terre were comprised in the capitulation of Guadaloupe. The inhabitants of Marigalante, which lies about three leagues to the south-east of Grand-terre, extending twenty miles in length, fifteen in breadth, flat and fertile, but poorly watered and ill fortified, having refused to submit when summoned by the squadron to surrender, General Barrington resolved to reduce them by force. He embarked a body of troops on board of transports which sailed thither under convoy of three ships of war and two bomb-vessels from Prince Rupert's Bay, and at their appearance the islanders submitting, received an English garrison. Before this period, Commodore Moore having received intelligence that M. de

CHAP.

XI.

1759



**B O O K** Bompert had sailed from Martinique, with design to  
 III. land a re-enforcement on Guadaloupe, and that his  
 1759. squadron was seen seven leagues to windward of  
 Marigalante, he sailed from Prince Rupert's Bay, and  
 turned to windward. After having been beaten  
 about for five days to very little purpose, he received  
 notice from one of his cruisers, that the French Ad-  
 miral had returned to Martinique; upon which infor-  
 mation he retired quietly to his former station in the  
 bay of Dominique, the people of which were so  
 insolent as to affirm, in derision, that the English  
 squadron sailed on one side of the island, and the  
 French upon the other, that they might be sure of  
 not meeting; but this, without doubt, was an  
 impudent calumny<sup>10</sup>.

§ XI. General Barrington, having happily finished  
 the conquest of Guadaloupe, gave notice to the Com-  
 modore, that he intended to send back part of the  
 troops, with the transports, to England, about the  
 beginning of July. In consequence of this intimation,  
 Mr. Moore sailed with his squadron to Basseterre-road,

<sup>10</sup> The Commodore declares that he carried a press-sail night  
 and day, in order to come up with the French squadron, and  
 took every step that could be devised for that purpose. He says,  
 if he had pursued any other course, the French commander  
 might have run into the road of St. Kit's, and destroyed or  
 taken a great number of merchant-ships which were then  
 loading with sugars for England.

He says he tried every stratagem he could contrive for bring-  
 ing M. de Bompert to action. He even sent away part of his  
 squadron out of sight of the inhabitants of Dominique that they  
 might represent to their friends at Martinique his force much  
 inferior to what it really was; but this expedient had no effect  
 upon M. de Bompert, who made the best of his way to Cape  
 François, on the island of Hispaniola.



where he was next day joined by two ships of the line from England, which rendered him greatly superior in strength to the commander of the French squadron, who had retired to the island of Grenada, lying about eight leagues from Guadaloupe. Here he was discovered by the ship Rippon, whose captain returned immediately to Basseterre, to make the Commodore acquainted with this circumstance: but, before he could weigh anchor, a frigate arrived, with information that Bompart had quitted Grenada, and was supposed to have directed his course to Hispaniola. The Commodore immediately dispatched the Ludlow-castle with this intelligence to Admiral Coates, who commanded the squadron at Jamaica. General Barrington having made a tour of the island, in order to visit and repair such fortifications as he thought necessary to be maintained, and the affairs relating to the inhabitants being entirely settled, he sent the Highlanders, with a body of drafts, to North-America, under convoy: he garrisoned the principal strengths of the island, and left the chief command to Colonel Crump, who had for some time acted as brigadier-general, Colonel Clavering having been sent home to England with the account of the capitulation. Colonel Melville, who had signalized himself in a remarkable manner ever since their first landing, continued governor of the citadel at Basseterre; and the command at Grand-terre was conferred on Colonel Delgarno. Three complete regiments were allotted as a sufficient guard for the whole island, and the other three were embarked for England. General Barrington himself went on board the

C H A P.  
 XI.  
 1759.



**B O O K** Roebuck in the latter end of June, and took his departure for England. About a month after, the transports, under convoy of Captain Hughes, with a small squadron, set sail for Great-Britain, while Commodore Moore, with his large fleet, directed his course to Antigua.

III.

1759.

§ XII. While this armament had been employed in the conquest of Guadaloupe, North-America exhibited still more sanguinary scenes of war and devastation, which, in order properly to introduce, it will be necessary to explain the steps that were taken on this continent, previous to this campaign. In October of the preceding year, a grand assembly was held at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia; and there peace was established, by a formal treaty between Great-Britain and the several nations of Indians inhabiting the country between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The Twightwees, however, settled between the river Ohio and the lakes, did not assist at this treaty, though some steps had been taken towards an alliance with that people. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, accompanied by Sir William Johnson's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of Pennsylvania, six members of the assembly, two agents for the province of New-Jersey, a great number of planters, and citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly quakers. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidoes, and Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticoques, and Conoys, the Tuteloes, Chugnues, Delawares, and Unamies, the



Minisinks, Mohicons, and Wappingers; the whole number including their women and children, amounting to five hundred. Some of the Six-Nations, thinking themselves aggrieved by the British colonists, who had imprisoned certain individuals of their nation, and had killed a few, and treated others with contempt, did not fail to express their resentment, which had been artfully fomented by the French emissaries, even into an open rupture. The Delawares and Minisinks, in particular, complained that the English had encroached upon their lands, and on that account were provoked to hostilities: but their chief, Teedyuscung, had made overtures of peace; and, in the character of ambassador from all the ten nations, had been very instrumental in forming this assembly. The chiefs of the Six-Nations, though very well disposed to peace, took umbrage at the importance assumed by one of the Delawares, over whom, as their descendants, they exercise a kind of parental authority; and on this occasion they made no scruple to disclose their dissatisfaction. The business, therefore, of the English governors at this congress was to ascertain the limits of the lands in dispute, reconcile the Six-Nations with their nephews, the Delawares, remove every cause of misunderstanding between the English and the Indians, detach these savages entirely from the French interest, establish a firm peace, and induce them to exert their influence in persuading the Twightwees to accede to this treaty. Those Indians, though possessed of few ideas, circumscribed in their mental faculties, stupid, brutal, and ferocious, conduct themselves, nevertheless, in matters of



B O O K  
III.  
1759.

importance to the community, by the general maxims of reason and justice; and their treaties are always founded upon good sense, conveyed in a very ridiculous manner. Their language is guttural, harsh, and polysyllabical; and their speech consists of hyperbolical metaphors and similies, which invest it with an air of dignity, and heighten the expression. They manage their conferences by means of wampum, a kind of bead, formed of a hard shell, either in single strings, or sewed in broad belts of different dimensions, according to the importance of the subject. Every proposition is offered, every answer made, every promise corroborated, every declaration attested, and every treaty confirmed, by producing and interchanging these belts of wampum. The conferences were continued from the eighth to the twenty-sixth day of October, when every article was settled to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The Indian deputies were gratified with a valuable present, consisting of looking-glasses, knives, tobacco-boxes, sleeve-buttons, thimbles, sheers, gun-locks, ivory-combs, shirts, shoes, stockings, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, thread, clothes, blankets, gartering, sarges, watch-coats, and a few suits of laced clothes for their chieftains. To crown their happiness, the stores of rum were opened: they drank themselves into a state of brutal intoxication, and next day returned in peace to their respective places of habitation.

§ XIII. This treaty with the Indians, who had been debauched from the interest of Great-Britain, auspiciously paved the way for those operations



which had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. Instead of employing the whole strength of the British arms in North-America against one object, the ministry proposed to divide the forces and make impressions on three different parts at once, that the enemy might be divided, distracted, and weakened, and the conquest of Canada completed in one campaign. That the success might be the more certain, the different expeditions were planned in such a manner as to co-operate with each other, and even join occasionally; so practicable was it thought for them to maintain such a correspondence as would admit of a junction of this nature. The project of this campaign imported, that General Wolfe, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the siege of Louisbourg, should proceed up the river St. Laurence, as soon as the navigation should be clear of ice, with a body of eight thousand men, and a considerable squadron of ships from England, to undertake the siege of Quebeck, the capital of Canada: that General Amherst, who commanded in chief, should, with another army of regular troops and provincials, amounting to twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, cross the lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the river Richelieu to the banks of the river St. Laurence, join General Wolfe in the siege of Quebeck: that Brigadier-General Prideaux, with a third body, reinforced with a considerable number of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and under the command of Sir William Johnson, should invest the French fort erected by the fall or cataract of Niagara, which



BOOK

III.

1759.

was certainly the most important post of all French America, as it in a manner commanded all the interior parts of that vast continent. It overawed the whole country of the Six-Nations, who were cajoled into a tame acquiescence in its being built on their territory: it secured all the inland-trade, the navigation of the great lakes, the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and opened a passage for inroads into the colonies of Great-Britain. It was proposed, that the British forces, having reduced Niagara, should be embarked on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Laurence, besiege and take Montreal, and then join or co-operate with Amherst's army. Beside these larger armaments, Colonel Stanvix commanded a smaller detachment for reducing smaller forts, and scouring the banks of the lake Ontario. How far this project was founded on reason and military knowledge may be judged by the following particulars, of which the projectors were not ignorant. The navigation of the river St. Laurence is dangerous and uncertain. The city of Quebeck was remarkably strong from situation and fortification, from the bravery of the inhabitants, and the number of the garrison. Monsieur de Montcalm, an officer of great courage and activity, kept the field between Montreal and Quebeck, with a body of eight or ten thousand men, consisting of regular troops and disciplined militia, re-enforced by a considerable number of armed Indians; and another body of reserve hovered in the neighbourhood of Montreal, which was the residence of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada. The



garrison of Niagara consisted of above six hundred men; the march to it was tedious and embarrassed; and Monsieur de Levi scoured the country with a flying detachment, well acquainted with all the woods and passes. With respect to General Amherst's share of the plan, the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point stood in his way. The enemy were masters of the lake Champlain, and possessed the strong fort of Chambly, by the fall of the river Richelieu, which defended the pass to the river St. Laurence. Even had these obstacles been removed, it was hardly possible that he and Mr. Wolfe should arrive at Quebeck in the same instant of time. The first that reached it far from being in a condition to undertake the siege of Quebeck, would have run the risk of being engaged and defeated by the covering army; in which case, the other body must have been exposed to the most imminent hazard of destruction, in the midst of an enemy's country, far distant from any place of safety to which it could retreat. Had these disasters happened, and, according to the experience of war, they were the natural consequences of the scheme, the troops at Niagara would in all probability have fallen an easy sacrifice, unless they had been so fortunate as to receive intelligence time enough to accomplish their retreat before they could be intercepted. The design would, we apprehend, have been more justifiable, or at least not so liable to objection, had Mr. Amherst left two or three regiments to protect the frontiers of New-York, and joining Mr. Wolfe with the rest, sailed up the river St. Laurence to besiege Quebeck. Even in that case, the



B O O K

III.

1759.

whole number of his troops would not have been sufficient, according to the practice of war, to invest the place, and cope with the covering enemy. Nevertheless, had the enterprize succeeded, Montcalm must either have hazarded an engagement against great odds, or retired farther into the country: then the route would have been open by land and water to Montreal, which could have made little resistance. The two principal towns being taken, and the navigation of the St. Laurence blocked up, all the dependant forts must have surrendered at discretion, except Niagara, which there was a bare possibility of supplying, at an incredible trouble and expense, from the distant Mississippi; but, even then, it might have been besieged in form, and easily reduced. Whatever defects there might have been in the plan, the execution, though it miscarried in some essential points, was attended with surprising success. The same good fortune that prospered the British arms so remarkably in the conquest of Guadaloupe seemed to interpose still more astonishingly in their favor at Quebeck, the siege of which we shall record in its proper place. At present, we must attend the operations of General Amherst, whose separate army was first in motion, though such impediments were thrown in his way as greatly retarded the progress of his operations; impediments said to have arisen from the pride, insolence, and obstinacy of certain individuals, who possessed great influence in that part of the world, and employed it all to thwart the service of their country.

§ XIV. The summer was already far advanced before  
General



General Amherst could pass lake George with his forces, although they met with no opposition, and reach the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, where, in the preceding year, the British troops had sustained such a terrible disaster. At first the enemy seemed determined to defend this fortress: but perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege; having moreover, orders to retreat from place to place, towards the centre of operations at Quebec, rather than run the least risk of being made prisoners of war; they in the night of July the twenty-seventh abandoned the post, after having in some measure dismantled the fortifications, and retired to Crown-Point, a fort situated on the verge of lake Champlain. General Amherst, having taken possession of this important post, which effectually covered the frontiers of New-York, and secured to himself a safe retreat in case of necessity, ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. This acquisition, however, was not made without the loss of a brave accomplished young officer, Colonel Roger Townshend, who, in reconnoitring the fort, was killed with a cannon-shot, and fell near the same spot which in the former year had been enriched with the blood of the gallant Lord Howe, whom he strongly resembled in the circumstances of birth, age, qualifications, and character.

§ XV. While the General superintended the repairs of Ticonderoga, and the men were employed in preparing batteaux and other vessels, his scouting parties hovered in the neighbourhood of Crown-



BOOK Point, in order to watch the motions of the enemy.  
 III. From one of these detachments he received intelligence,  
 1759. gence, on the first day of August, that the enemy had retired from Crown-Point. He immediately detached a body of rangers before him, to take possession of the place: then he embarked with the rest of the army, and on the fourth day of the month landed at the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. His next care was to lay the foundation of a new fort, to be maintained for the further security of the British dominions in that part of the country, and particularly for preventing the inroads of scalping parties, by whom the plantations had been dreadfully infested. Here information was received that the enemy had retired to the Isle aux Noix, at the other end of the lake Champlain, five leagues on the hither side of St. John's; that their force encamped in that place, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, consisted of three battalions and five piquets of regular troops, with Canadians and marines, amounting in the whole to three thousand five hundred effective men, provided with a numerous artillery; and that the lake was occupied by four large vessels, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments, under the command and direction of M. le Bras, a captain in the French navy, assisted by M. de Rigal, and other sea-officers. In consequence of this intimation, General Amherst, who had some time employed Captain Loring to superintend the building of vessels at Ticonderoga, being resolved to have the superiority on the lake, directed the captain to build with all possible



expedition a sloop of sixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying six large cannon. These, together with a brigantine, being finished, victualled, and manned by the eleventh day of October, the General embarked with the whole of the troops in batteaux, in order to attack the enemy; but next day, the weather growing tempestuous, was obliged to take shelter in a bay on the western shore, where the men were landed for refreshment. In the mean time, Captain Loring, with his small squadron, sailing down the lake, gave chase to a French schooner, and drove three of their ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk, and the third run a-ground by their own crew, who escaped: one, however, was repaired and brought away by Captain Loring, so that now the French had but one schooner remaining. General Amherst, after having been some days wind-bound, re-embarked his forces, and proceeded down the lake; but the storm, which had abated, beginning to blow with redoubled fury, so as to swell the waves mountain high, the season for action being elapsed, and winter setting in with the most rigorous severity, he saw the impossibility of accomplishing his design, and was obliged to desist. Returning to the same bay where he had been sheltered, he landed the troops, and began his march for Crown-Point, where he arrived on the twenty-first day of October. Having secured a superiority on the lake, he now employed all his attention in rearing the new fortress at Crown-Point, together with three small out-forts for its better



B O O K

111.

1759.

defence ; in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and the governments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire ; and in making dispositions for the winter-quarters of his troops , so as to protect the country from the inroads of the enemy.

§ XVI. During this whole summer he received not the least intelligence of Mr. Wolfe's operations , except a few hints in some letters relating to the exchange of prisoners , that came from the French general , Montcalm , who gave him to understand , that Mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec , and seemed determined to undertake the siege of that city ; that he had honored him ( the French general ) with several notes , sometimes couched in a soothing strain , sometimes filled with threats ; that the French army intended to give him battle , and a few days would determine the fate of Quebec. Though Mr. Amherst was ignorant of the proceedings of the Quebec-squadron , his communication continued open with the forces which undertook the siege of Niagara ; and he received an account of their success before he had quitted the lines of Ticonderoga. General Prideaux , with his body of troops , re-enforced by the Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson , advanced to the cataract of Niagara , without being exposed to the least inconvenience on his march ; and investing the French fortress about the middle of July , carried on his approaches with great vigor till the twentieth day of that month , when , visiting the trenches , he was unfortunately slain by the bursting of a cohorn. Mr. Amherst was no sooner informed of his disaster , than



he detached Brigadier-General Gage from Ticonderoga, to assume the command of that army. In the mean time, it devolved on Sir William Johnson, who happily prosecuted the plan of his predecessor with all the success that could have been desired. The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a place of such importance, resolved to exert their endeavours for its relief. They assembled a body of regular troops, amounting to twelve hundred men, drawn from Detroit, Venango, and Presque-Isle; and these, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were detached, under the command of Monsieur d'Aubry, on an attempt to re-enforce the garrison of Niagara. Sir William Johnson having received intelligence of their design, made a disposition to intercept them in their march. In the evening he ordered the light infantry and picquets to post themselves to the left, on the road leading from Niagara-falls to the fortrefs: these were re-enforced in the morning with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Massey; and another regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, was posted at the tail of the works, in order to support the guard of the trenches. About eight in the morning, the enemy being in sight, the Indians in the English army advanced to speak with their countrymen who served under the French banners; but this conference was declined by the enemy. Then the French Indians having uttered the horrible scream called the war-whoop, which by this time had lost its effect among the British forces, the enemy began the action with impetuosity: but they met with such



B O O K

III.

1759.

a hot reception in front, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon their flanks, that in a little more than half an hour their whole army was routed, their general, with all his officers, taken, and the pursuit continued through the woods for several miles with considerable slaughter. This battle, which happened on the twenty-fourth day of July, having been fought in sight of the French garrison at Niagara, Sir William Johnson sent Major Harvey with a trumpet to the commanding officer, to present him with a list of seventeen officers taken in the engagement, and to exhort him to surrender before more blood was shed, while he had it in his power to restrain the Indians. The commandant, having certified himself of the truth, by sending an officer to visit the prisoners, agreed to treat, and in a few hours the capitulation was ratified. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven effective men, marched out with the honors of war, in order to be embarked in vessels on the lake, and conveyed in the most expeditious manner to New-York. They laid down their arms when they embarked; but were permitted to keep their baggage, and, by a proper escorte, protected from the savage insolence and rapacity of the Indians. All the women were conducted, at their own request, to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with humanity. This was the second complete victory obtained on the continent of North-America, in the course of the same war, by Sir William Johnson, who, without the help of a military education, succeeded so signally in the field by dint of innate courage and



natural sagacity. What remarkably characterizes these battles, is the circumstance of his having taken in both the commander of the enemy. Indeed, the war in general may be distinguished by the singular success of this gentleman and the celebrated Lord Clive, two self-taught generals; who, by a series of shining actions, have demonstrated, that uninstructed genius can, by its own internal light and efficacy, rival, if not eclipse, the acquired art of discipline and experience. Sir William Johnson was not more serviceable to his country by his valor and conduct in the field, than by the influence and authority which his justice, benevolence, and integrity had acquired among the Indian tribes of the Six-Nations, whom he not only assembled at Niagara to the number of eleven hundred, but also restrained within the bounds of good order and moderation.

§ XVII. The reduction of Niagara, and the possession of Crown-Point, were exploits much more easily achieved than the conquest of Quebeck, the great object to which all these operations were subordinate. Of that we now come to give the detail, fraught with singular adventures and surprising events; in the course of which a noble spirit of enterprise was displayed, and the scenes of war were exhibited in all the variety of desolation. It was about the middle of February that a considerable squadron sailed from England for Cape-Breton, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of worth and probity, who had on several occasions signalized their courage and conduct in the service of their country. By the twenty-first

CHAP.

XI.

1759.



BOOK III. 1759. day of April they were in sight of Louisbourg; but the harbour was blocked up with ice in such a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax, in Nova-Scotia. From hence Rear-Admiral Durell was detached, with a small squadron, to sail up the river St. Laurence as far as the isle de Coudres, in order to intercept any supplies from France intended for Quebeck: he accordingly took two store-ships; but he was anticipated by seventeen sail, laden with provision, stores, and some recruits, under convoy of three frigates, which had already reached the capital of Canada. Mean while, Admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of eight thousand, proceeded up the river without further delay. The operations by land were intrusted to the conduct of Major-General James Wolfe, whose talents had shone with such superior lustre at the siege of Louisbourg; and his subordinates in command were the Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray; all four in the flower of their age, who had studied the military art, with equal eagerness and proficiency, and, though young in years, were old in experience. The first was a soldier by descent, the son of Major-General Wolfe, a veteran officer of acknowledged capacity: the other three resembled each other, not only in years, qualifications, and station, but also in family-rank, all three being the sons of noblemen. The situation of Brigadier Townshend was singular: he had served abroad in the last war with reputation, and resigned his commission during the peace, in disdain at some hard usage he had



sustained from his superiors. That his military talents, however, might not be lost to his country, he exercised them with equal spirit and perseverance in projecting and promoting the plan of a national militia. When the command and direction of the army devolved to a new leader, so predominant in his breast was the spirit of patriotism and the love of glory, that though heir apparent to a British peerage, possessed of a very affluent fortune, remarkably dear to his acquaintance, and solicited to a life of quiet by every allurements of domestic felicity, he waved these considerations: he burst from all entanglements; proffered his services to his sovereign; exposed himself to the perils of a disagreeable voyage, the rigors of a severe climate, and the hazard of a campaign peculiarly fraught with toil, danger, and difficulty.

§ XVIII. The armament intended for Quebeck sailed up the river St. Laurence, without having met with any interruption, or having perceived any of those difficulties and perils with which it had been reported that the navigation of it was attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to some excellent charts of the river, which had been found in vessels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June the land-forces were disembarked in two divisions upon the isle of Orleans, situated a little below Quebeck, a large fertile island, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, abounding with people, villages, and plantations. General Wolfe no sooner landed on the island of Orleans, than he distributed a manifesto among the



BOOK

III.

1759.

French colonists, giving them to understand, That the King his master, justly exasperated against the French monarch, had equipped a considerable armament, in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the most considerable French settlements in America. He declared, it was not against the industrious peasants, their wives, and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he intended to make war: on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they must be exposed by the quarrel: he offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns. He observed, that the English were masters of the river St. Laurence, so as to intercept all succours from Europe, and had, besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of General Amherst. He affirmed, that the resolution they ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful, as the utmost exertion of their valor would be useless, and serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great-Britain in America would excuse the most severe reprisals; but Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the sweets of peace, amid the horrors of war; and left it to themselves to determine their own fate by their own conduct. He expressed his hope, that the world would do him



justice, should they oblige him, by rejecting these favorable terms, to adopt violent measures. He expatiated upon the strength and power, as well as upon the generosity of Great-Britain, in thus stretching out the hand of humanity; a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, even when France was, by her weakness, compelled to abandon them in the most critical conjuncture. This declaration produced no immediate effect; nor, indeed, did the Canadians depend upon the sincerity and promised faith of a nation, whom their priests had industriously represented as the most savage and cruel enemy on earth. Possessed of these notions, which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to abandon their habitations, and expose themselves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the English by the most cruel hostilities, rather than be quiet, and confide in the General's promise of protection. Instead of pursuing this prudent plan of conduct, they joined the scalping parties<sup>11</sup> of Indians who skulked among

<sup>11</sup> The operation of scalping, which, to the shame of both nations, was encouraged both by French and English, the savages performed in this manner: — The hapless victim being disabled, or disarmed, the Indian, with a sharp knife, provided and worn for the purpose, makes a circular incision to the bone round the upper part of the head, and tears off the scalp with his fingers. Previous to this execution, he generally dispatches the prisoner by repeated blows on the head with the hammer-side of the instrument called a tomahawk: but some times they save themselves the trouble, and sometimes the blows prove ineffectual, so that the miserable patient is found alive, groaning in the utmost agony of torture. The Indian strings the scalps he has procured, to be produced as a testimony of his prowess, and receives a premium for each from the nation under whose banners he has enlisted.



BOOK  
III.  
1759.

the woods, and falling upon the English stragglers by surprise, butchered them with the most inhuman barbarity. Mr. Wolfe, whose nature revolted against this wanton and perfidious cruelty, sent a letter to the French general, representing, that such enormities were contrary to the rules of war observed among civilized nations, dishonorable to the service of France, and disgraceful to human nature: he, therefore, desired the French colonists and Indians might be restrained within due bounds, otherwise he would burn their villages, desolate their plantations, and retaliate upon the persons of his prisoners whatever cruelties should, in the sequel, be committed on the soldiers or subjects of his master. In all probability the French general's authority was not sufficient to bridle the ferocity of the savages, who continued to scalp and murder with the most brutal appetite for blood and revenge: so that Mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a cessation of these outrages, found it necessary to connive at some irregularities in the way of retaliation.

§ XIX. M. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, though superior in number to the invaders, very wisely resolved to depend upon the natural strength of the country, which appeared almost insurmountable, and had carefully taken all his precautions of defence. The city of Quebeck was tolerably fortified, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provision and ammunition. Montcalm had re-enforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions, formed of the best of the inhabitants, completely disciplined all the Canadians



of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of savages. With this army he had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, encamped along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, every accessible part being deeply intrenched. To undertake the siege of Quebeck against such odds and advantages was not only a deviation from the established maxims of war, but a rash enterprise, seemingly urged in diametrical opposition to the dictates of common sense. Mr. Wolfe was well acquainted with all the difficulties of the undertaking; but he knew at the same time he should always have it in his power to retreat in case of emergency, while the British squadron maintained its station in the river: he was not without hope of being joined by General Amherst; and he was stimulated by an appetite for glory, which the prospect of accumulated dangers could not allay. Understanding that there was a body of the enemy posted, with cannon, at the Point of Levi, on the south-shore, opposite to the city of Quebeck, he detached against them Brigadier Monckton, at the head of four battalions, who passed the river at night, and next morning, having skirmished with some of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that post, which the English immediately occupied. At the same time Colonel Carlton, with another detachment, took possession of the western point of the island of Orleans; and both these posts were fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, had they kept possession of either, might have rendered it impossible for any ship to lie at anchor within two miles of



B O O K

III.

1759.

Quebeck. Besides, the Point of Levi was within cannon-shot of the city, against which a battery of mortars and artillery was immediately erected. Montcalm, foreseeing the effect of this manœuvre, detached a body of sixteen hundred men across the river, to attack and destroy the works before they were completed: but the detachment fell into disorder, fired upon each other, and retired in confusion. The battery being finished without further interruption, the cannon and mortars began to play with such success, that in a little time the upper town was considerably damaged, and the lower town reduced to a heap of rubbish.

§ XX. In the mean time, the fleet was exposed to the most imminent danger. Immediately after the troops had been landed on the island of Orleans the wind increased to a furious storm, which blew with such violence, that many transports ran foul of one another, and were disabled. A number of boats and small craft foundered, and divers large ships lost their anchors. The enemy resolving to take advantage of the confusion which they imagined this disaster must have produced, prepared seven fire-ships, and at midnight sent them down from Quebeck among the transports, which lay so thick as to cover the whole surface of the river. The scheme, though well contrived, and seasonably executed, was entirely defeated by the deliberation of the British Admiral, and the dexterity of his mariners, who resolutely boarded the fire-ships, and towed them fast a-ground, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the least prejudice to the English squadron. On the very same



day of the succeeding month, they sent down a raft of fire-ships, or radeaux, which likewise consumed, without producing any effect.

C H A P.

XI.

1759.

§ XXI. The works for the security of the hospital, and the stores on the island of Orleans, being finished, the British forces crossed the north-channel in boats, and landing under cover of two sloops, encamped on the side of the river Montmorenci, which divided them from the left of the enemy. Next morning a company of rangers posted in a wood to cover some workmen were attacked by the French Indians, and totally defeated: however, the nearest troops advancing, repulsed the Indians in their turn with considerable loss. The reasons that induced General Wolfe to chuse this situation by the falls of Montmorency, in which he was divided from Quebeck by this, and another river called St. Charles, he explained in a letter to the secretary of state. He observed, that the ground which he had chose was high, and in some measure commanded the opposite side on which the enemy was posted: that there was a ford below the falls passable in every tide for some hours at the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood; and he hoped that means might be found of passing the river higher up, so as to fight the Marquis de Montcalm upon less disadvantageous terms than those of directly attacking his intrenchments. Accordingly, in reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, a ford was discovered about three miles above; but the opposite banks, which were naturally steep, and covered with woods, the enemy had intrenched in such a manner, as to render it almost inaccessible. The escorte was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often



B O O K

III.

1759.

repulsed; but these rencounters cost the English about forty men killed and wounded including some officers. Some shrewd objections might be started to the general's choice of ground on this occasion. He could not act at all without passing the river Montmorenci at a very great disadvantage, and attacking an enemy superior to himself in number, secured by redoubts and intrenchments. Had he even, by dint of extraordinary valor, driven them from these strong posts, the success must have cost him a great number of officers and men; and the enemy might have retreated behind the river St. Charles, which he must also have passed under the same disadvantages, before he could begin his operations against the city of Quebeck. Had his good fortune enabled him to surmount all these difficulties, and after all to defeat the enemy in a pitched battle, the garrison of Quebeck might have been re-enforced by the wreck of their army; and he could not, with any probability of success, have undertaken the siege of an extensive fortified place, which he had not troops sufficient to invest, and whose garrison would have been nearly equal in number to the sum total of the troops he commanded. At any rate, the chance of a fair engagement in the open field was what he had little reason to expect in that situation, from the known experience and the apparent conduct of the French general. These objections appeared so obvious and important, that General Wolfe would not determine to risk an attack, until he had surveyed the upper part of the river St. Laurence, in hopes of finding some place more favorable for a descent.

§ XXII.



§ XXII. On the eighteenth day of July, the Admiral, at his request, sent two ships of war, two armed sloops, and some transports, with troops on board, up the river; and they passed the city of Quebeck; without having sustained any damage. The General being on board of this little armament, carefully observed the banks on the side of the enemy, which were extremely difficult from the nature of the ground, and these difficulties were redoubled by the foresight and precaution of the French commander. Though a descent seemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, General Wolfe, in order to divide the enemy's force, and procure intelligence, ordered a detachment, under the command of Colonel Carlton, to land higher up, at the Point au Tremble, to which place he was informed a great number of the inhabitants of Quebeck had retired with their most valuable effects. This service was performed with little loss, and some prisoners were brought away, but no magazine was discovered. The general thus disappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorenci, where Brigadier Townshend had, by maintaining a superior fire across that river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the English camp; and now he resolved to attack them, though posted to great advantage, and everywhere prepared to give him a warm reception. His design was, first to reduce a detached redoubt close to the water's edge, seemingly situated without gun-shot of the intrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be supported by the enemy, he foresaw that he should be able to bring on a general engagement: on the contrary,



B O O K

III.

1759.

should they remain tame spectators of its reduction, he could afterwards examine their situation at leisure, and determine the place at which they could be most easily attacked. Preparations were accordingly made for storming the redoubt. On the last day of July, in the forenoon, part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade was embarked in the boats of the fleet, to be transported from the Point of Levi. The two brigades, commanded by the Brigadiers Townshend and Murray, were drawn out, in order to pass the ford when it should be necessary. To facilitate their passage, the Admiral had stationed the Centurion ship of war in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded: a numerous train of artillery was placed upon the eminence, to batter and enfilade the left of the enemy's intrenchment; and two flat-bottomed armed vessels, prepared for the purpose, were run a ground near the redoubt, to favor the descent of the forces. The manifest confusion produced among the French by these previous measures, and by the fire of the Centurion, which was well directed and sustained, determined Mr. Wolfe to storm this intrenchment without further delay. Orders were issued, that the three brigadiers should put their troops in motion at a certain signal, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide. Many of the boats from Point Levi ran a-ground upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance from the shore; and this accident occasioned a disorder, by which so much time was lost, that the General was obliged to stop the march of Brigadier Townshend's corps, which he perceived to be in motion. In the mean time, the boats were floated, and ranged



in proper order, though exposed to a severe fire of shot and shells; and the general in person sounding the shore, pointed out the place where the troops might disembark with the least difficulty. Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the second American battalion, were the first who landed. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, and begin the attack, supported by the corps of Brigadier Monckton, as soon as the other troops should have passed the ford, and be near enough to contribute to their assistance. These instructions, however, were entirely neglected. Before Mr. Monckton had landed, and while Brigadier Townshend was on his march at a considerable distance, the grenadiers, without waiting to be drawn up in any regular form, impetuously rushed towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder. Their courage served only to increase their misfortune. The first fire they received did such execution among them, that they were obliged to shelter themselves under the redoubt which the French had abandoned at their approach. In this uncomfortable situation they remained some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of many gallant officers, who lavishly exposed, and even lost their lives in the honorable discharge of their duty<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> The following anecdote is so remarkable, and tends so much to the honor of the British soldiery, that we insert it without fear of the reader's disapprobation: — Captain Ochterlony and Ensign Peyton belonged to the regiment of Brigadier-General Monckton. They were nearly of an age, which did not exceed thirty; the first was a North-Briton, the other a native of Ireland. Both were agreeable in person, and unblemished in character, and connected together by the ties of



BOOK. The general seeing all their endeavours abortive,  
 III. ordered them to retreat, and form behind Monckton's  
 1759.

mutual friendship and esteem. On the day that preceded the battle, Captain Ochterlony had been obliged to fight a duel with a German officer; in which, though he wounded and disarmed his antagonist, yet he himself received a dangerous hurt under the right arm, in consequence of which his friends insisted on his remaining in camp during the action of the next day; but his spirit was too great to comply with this remonstrance. He declared it should never be said that a scratch received in a private rencounter had prevented him from doing his duty, when his country required his service; and he took the field with a fusil in his hand, though he was hardly able to carry his arms. In leading up his men to the enemy's intrenchment, he was shot through the lungs with a musquet-ball, an accident which obliged him to part with his fusil: but he still continued advancing, until, by loss of blood, he became too weak to proceed farther. About the same time Mr. Peyton was lamed by a shot, which shattered the small bone of his left leg. The soldiers, in their retreat, earnestly begged, with tears in their eyes, that Captain Ochterlony would allow them to carry him and the ensign off the field. But he was so bigotted to a severe point of honor, that he would not quit the ground, though he desired they would take care of his ensign. Mr. Peyton, with a generous disdain, rejected their good offices, declaring that he would not leave his captain in such a situation; and in a little time they remained the sole survivors on that part of the field.

Captain Ochterlony sat down by his friend, and, as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave of each other; yet they were not altogether abandoned by the hope of being protected as prisoners: for the captain seeing a French soldier with two Indians approach, started up, and accosting them in the French language, which he spoke perfectly well, expressed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers, prisoners, and gentlemen. The two Indians seemed to be entirely under the conduct of the Frenchman, who coming up to Mr. Peyton, as he sat on the ground, snatched



brigade, which was, by this time, landed and drawn up on the beach in order. They accordingly retired

his laced hat from his head, and robbed the captain of his watch and money. This outrage was a signal to the Indians for murder and pillage. One of them, clubbing his firelock, struck at him behind, with a view to knock him down, but the blow missing his head, took place upon his shoulder. At the same instant the other Indian poured his shot into the breast of this unfortunate young gentleman, who cried out, "O Peyton! the villain has shot me." Not yet satiated with cruelty, the barbarian sprung upon him, and stabbed him in the belly with his scalping knife. The captain, having parted with his fusil, had no weapon for his defence, as none of the officers wore swords in the action. The three ruffians, finding him still alive, endeavoured to strangle him with his own sash; and he was now upon his knees struggling against them with surprising exertion. Mr. Peyton, at this juncture, having a double barrelled musket in his hand, and seeing the distress of his friend, fired at one of the Indians, who dropped dead upon the spot. The other, thinking the ensign would now be an easy prey, advanced towards him, and Mr. Peyton, having taken good aim at the distance of four yards, discharged his piece the second time, but it seemed to take no effect. The savage fired in his turn, and wounded the ensign in the shoulder; then rushing upon him, thrust his bajonet through his body. He repeated the blow, which Mr. Peyton attempting to parry, received another wound in his left hand, nevertheless he seized the Indian's musket with the same hand, pulled him forwards, and with his right drawing a dagger which hung by his side, plunged it in the barbarian's side. A violent struggle ensued: but at length Mr. Peyton was uppermost, and, with repeated strokes of his dagger, killed his antagonist outright. Here he was seized with an unaccountable emotion of curiosity, to know whether or not his shot had taken place on the body of the Indian; he accordingly turned him up, and, stripping off his blanket, perceived that the ball had penetrated quite through the cavity of the breast. Having thus obtained a dear-bought victory, he started up on one leg, and saw Captain Ochterlony standing at



B O O K

III.

1759.

in confusion, leaving a considerable number lying on the field, to the barbarity of the Indian savages, who the distance of sixty yards, close by the enemy's breastwork, with the French soldier attending him. Mr. Peyton then called aloud, "Captain Ochterlony, I am glad to see you have at last got under protection. Beware of that villain, who is more barbarous than the savages. God bless you, my dear Captain. I see a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered immediately." A number of those barbarians had for some time been employed on the left in scalping and pillaging the dying and the dead that were left upon the field of battle; and above thirty of them were in full march to destroy Mr. Peyton. This gentleman knew he had no mercy to expect; for, should his life be spared for the present, they would have afterwards insisted upon sacrificing him to the manes of their brethren whom he had slain; and in that case he would have been put to death by the most excruciating tortures. Full of this idea, he snatched up his musket, and, notwithstanding his broken leg, ran above forty yards without halting: feeling himself now totally disabled, and incapable of proceeding one step farther, he loaded his piece, and presented it to the two foremost Indians, who stood aloof, waiting to be joined by their fellows: while the French, from their breast-works, kept up a continual fire of cannon and small arms upon this poor, solitary, maimed gentleman. In this uncomfortable situation he stood, when he discerned at a distance a Highland officer, with a party of his men, skirting the plain towards the field of battle. He forthwith waved his hand in signal of distress, and being perceived by the officer, he detached three of his men to his assistance. These brave fellows hastened to him through the midst of a terrible fire, and one of them bore him off on his shoulders. The Highland officer was Captain Macdonald, of Colonel Frazier's battalion; who understanding that a young gentleman, his kinsman, had dropped on the field of battle, had put himself at the head of this party, with which he penetrated to the middle of the field, drove a considerable number of the French and Indians before him, and finding his relation still unscalped, carried him off in triumph. Poor Captain Ochterlony was conveyed to Quebec, where in a few days he died of his wounds.



massacred the living , and scalped the dead , even in sight of their indignant companions. This unhappy accident occasioned a new delay, and the day was already far advanced. The wind began to blow with uncommon violence , and the tide to make ; so that, in case of a second repulse, the retreat of Brigadier Townshend might have been rendered hazardous and uncertain ; Mr. Wolfe , therefore , thought proper to desist, and returned without further molestation to the other side of the river Montmorenci. The Admiral ordered the two vessels which were a-ground to be set on fire , that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The advantages that favored an attack in this part consisted of the following particulars : All the artillery could be used with good effect ; all the troops could act at once ; and, in case of a miscarriage, the retreat was secure and open , at least for a certain time of the tide. These, however, seemed to be over-balanced by other considerations. The enemy were posted on a commanding eminence ; the beach was covered with deep mud , slippery , and broken into holes and gullies ; the hill was steep, and in some places impracticable ; the enemy were numerous ,

After the reduction of that place , the French surgeons who attended him declared, that, in all probability, he would have recovered of the two shots he had received in his breast, had not he been mortally wounded in the belly by the Indian's scalping knife.

As this very remarkable scene was acted in sight of both armies , General Townshend , in the sequel, expostulated with the French officers upon the inhumanity of keeping up such a severe fire against two wounded gentlemen, who were disabled, and destitute of all hope of escaping. They answered, that the fire was not made by the regulars , but by the Canadians and Savages, whom it was not in the power of discipline to restrain.



BOOK

III.

1759.

and poured in a very severe fire from their intrenchments. Had the attack succeeded, the loss of the English must have been very heavy, and that of the French inconsiderable, because the neighbouring woods afforded them immediate shelter; finally, the river St. Charles still remained to be passed, before the town could be invested.

§ XXIII. Immediately after this mortifying check, in which above five hundred men, and many brave officers were lost, the General detached Brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men, in transports, above the town, to co-operate with Rear-Admiral Holmes, whom the Admiral had sent up with some force against the French shipping, which he hoped to destroy. The Brigadier was likewise instructed to seize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In pursuance of these directions, he twice attempted to land on the north-shore; but these attempts were unsuccessful. The third effort was more fortunate. He made a sudden descent at Chambaud, and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, clothing, provision, and ammunition. The enemy's ships being secured in such a manner as not to be approached, and nothing else occurring that required the brigadier's longer stay, he returned to the camp, with intelligence obtained from his prisoners, that the fort of Niagara was taken, Crown-Point abandoned, and General Amherst employed in making preparations to attack the corps at the Isle aux Noix commanded by M. Burlemaque. The disaster at the falls of Montmorenci made a deep impression on the mind of General Wolfe, whose spirit was



too great to brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace. He knew the character of the English people, rash, impatient, and capricious; elevated to exultation by the least gleam of success, dejected even to despondency by the most inconsiderable frown of adverse fortune; sanguine even to childish hyperbole in applauding those servants of the public who have prospered in their undertakings; clamorous to a degree of persecution against those who have miscarried in their endeavours, without any investigation of merit, without any consideration of circumstances. A keen sense of these vexatious peculiarities conspiring with the shame of disappointment, and eager desire of retrieving the laurel that he might by some be supposed to have lost at the falls of Montmorenci, and the despair of finding such an occasion, excited an internal agitation, which visibly affected his external frame, and disordered his whole constitution, which was naturally delicate and tender. Among those who shared his confidence, he was often seen to sigh; he was often heard to complain, and even in the transports of his chagrin declare, that he would never return without success, to be exposed, as other unfortunate commanders had been, to the censure and reproach of an ignorant and ungrateful populace. This tumult of the mind, added to the fatigues of the body he had undergone, produced a fever and dysentery; by which, for some time, he was totally disabled.

§ XXIV. Before he recovered any degree of strength, he desired the general officers to consult together for the public utility. It was their opinion, that the points of Levi and Orleans being left in a



BOOK

III.

1759.

proper state of defence, the rest of the troops should be conveyed up the river, with a view to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them if possible to an engagement. This measure, however, was not adopted, until the General and Admiral had roconnoitred the town of Quebeck, with a view to a general assault, and concluded from their own observations, re-enforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, who was perfectly well acquainted with the interiors of the place, that such an attack could not be hazarded with any prospect of success. The ships of war, indeed, might have silenced the batteries of the lower town; but they could not affect the upper works, from which they must have sustained considerable damage. When we consider the situation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was secured, the natural strength of the country; the great number of vessels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the skill, valor, superior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of savages continually hovering about the posts of the English, to surprise parties and harass detachments; we must own that there was such a combination of difficulties as might have discouraged and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander.

§ XXV. In consequence of the resolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery were re-embarked, and landed at Point Levi: they afterwards passed up the river in transports, while Admiral Holmes made a movement with his ships, to amuse the enemy posted on the



north-shore, and the men being much crowded on board, the General ordered one half of them to be landed for refreshment on the other side of the river. As no possibility appeared of annoying the enemy above the town, the scheme of operations was totally changed. A plan was formed for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of ascending the heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly, with a steep ascent, from the banks of the river; that they might take possession of the ground on the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design were so peculiarly discouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a spirit of enterprise that bordered on desperation. The stream was rapid; the shore shelving; the bank of the river lined with sentinels; the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark; and the ground so difficult as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time, had no opposition been expected. If the enemy had received the least intimation from spy or deserter, or even suspected the scheme: had the embarkation been disordered, in consequence of the darkness of the night, the rapidity of the river, or the shelving nature of the north-shore, near which they were obliged to row: had one sentinel been alarmed, or the landing-place much mistaken, the heights of Abraham must have been instantly secured by such a force as would have rendered the undertaking abortive: confusion would necessarily have ensued in the dark; and this would have



**B O O K** naturally produced a panic, which might have  
**III.** proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment.  
**1759.** These objections could not escape the penetration  
of the gallant Wolfe, who, nevertheless, adopted  
the plan without hesitation; and even executed it  
in person; though at that time laboring under a  
severe dysentery and fever, which had exhausted  
his constitution, and reduced him almost to an  
extremity of weakness. The previous steps being  
taken, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt,  
Admiral Holmes moved with his squadron farther  
up the river, about three leagues above the place  
appointed for the disembarkation, that he might  
deceive the enemy, and amuse M. de Bougainville,  
whom Montcalm had detached with fifteen hundred  
men to watch the motions of that squadron; but  
the English Admiral was directed to sail down the  
river in the night, so as to protect the landing of  
the forces; and these orders he punctually fulfilled.  
On the twelfth day of September, an hour after  
midnight, the first embarkation, consisting of four  
complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded  
by Colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders,  
and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-  
bottomed boats, under the immediate command of  
the Brigadiers Monckton and Murray: though  
General Wolfe accompanied them in person, and  
was among the first who landed; and they began  
to fall down with the tide, to the intended place of  
disembarkation; rowing close to the north-shore, in  
order to find it the more easily. Without any  
disorder the boats glided gently along; but by the  
rapidity of the tide, and the darkness of the night,



the boats overshot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the disembarkation was intended <sup>13</sup>. As the troops landed, the boats were sent back for the second embarkation, which

CHAP.

XI.

1759.

<sup>13</sup> How far the success of this attempt depended upon accident may be conceived from the following particulars: In the twilight two French deserters were carried on board a ship of war, commanded by Captain Smith, and lying at anchor near the north-shore. They told him, that the garrison of Quebec expected that night to receive a convoy of provisions, sent down the river in boats, from the detachment above, commanded by M. de Bougainville. These deserters standing upon deck, and perceiving the English boats with the troops gliding down the river in the dark, began to shout, and make a noise, declaring they were part of the expected convoy. Captain Smith, who was ignorant of General Wolfe's design, believing their affirmation, had actually given orders to point the guns at the British troops; when the General perceiving a commotion on board, rowed along-side in person, and prevented the discharge, which would have alarmed the town, and entirely frustrated the attempt.

The French had posted sentries along shore, to challenge boats and vessels, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat that contained the English troops being questioned accordingly, a captain of Frazier's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered without hesitation to *Qui vit*, which is their challenging word, *la France*: nor was he at a loss to answer the second question, which was much more particular and difficult. When the sentinel demanded *quel regiment?* to what regiment? the captain replied, *de la Reine*, which he knew, by accident, to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted this was the expected convoy; and saying *passé*, allowed all the boats to proceed without further question. In the same manner, the other sentries were deceived; though one, more wary than the rest, came running down to the water's edge, and called, "*pourquoi est-ce que vous ne*



**B O O K** was superintended by Brigadier Townshend. In  
 111. the mean time, Colonel Howe, with the light in-  
 1759. fantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody  
 precipices with admirable courage and activity;  
 and dislodged a serjeant's guard, which defended a  
 small intrenched narrow path, by which alone the  
 rest of the forces could reach the summit. Then  
 they mounted, without further molestation from  
 the enemy, and the general drew them up in order  
 as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm no sooner  
 understood that the English had gained the heights  
 of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the  
 town on its weakest part, than he resolved to  
 hazard a battle, and began his march without delay,  
 after having collected his whole force from the  
 side of Beauport.

*parlez pas plus haut ?* Why don't you speak with an audible  
 voice?" To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the  
 captain answered, with admirable presence of mind, in a soft  
 tone of voice, "*Tais toi, nous serons entendus !* Hush! we shall  
 be overheard and discovered." Thus cautioned, the sentry  
 retired without further altercation. The midshipman who  
 piloted the first boat, passing by the landing-place in the dark,  
 the same captain, who knew it, from his having been posted for-  
 merly with his company on the other side of the river, insisted  
 upon the pilot's being mistaken, and commanded the rowers to  
 put ashore in the proper place, or at least very near it.

When General Wolfe landed, and saw the difficulty of  
 ascending the precipice, he said to the same officer, in a  
 familiar strain, "I don't believe there is any possibility of  
 getting up; but you must do your endeavour." The narrow  
 path that slanted up the hill from the landing-place the enemy  
 had broken up and rendered impassable by cross-ditches, besides  
 the intrenchment at the top: in every other part the hill was  
 so steep and dangerous, that the soldiers were obliged to pull  
 themselves up by the roots and boughs of trees growing on  
 both sides of the path.



§ XXVI. General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions, and the Louisbourg-grenadiers; the right commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left by Brigadier Murray: to the rear of the left Colonel Howe was posted with his light infantry, just returned from a four-gun battery, which they had taken without opposition. M. de Montcalm advancing in such a manner as to show his intention was to flank the left of the English, Brigadier Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, presenting a double front to the enemy: he was afterwards re-enforced by two battalions, and the reserve consisted of one regiment drawn up in eight sub-divisions, with large intervals. The right of the enemy was composed of half the colony-troops, two battalions, and a body of Canadians and savages: their centre consisted of a column, formed by two other regular battalions; and on the left one battalion, with the remainder of the colony-troops, was posted; the bushes and corn-fields in their front were lined with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus singled out for destruction. This fire, indeed, was in some measure checked by the advanced posts of the British line, who piqueered with the enemy for some hours before the battle began. Both armies were destitute of artillery, except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun, which the English seamen had made shift to draw up from the landing-place. This was very well served, and



BOOK

III.

1759.

galled their column severely. At length, about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and vivacity, though their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary, the British forces reserved their shot until the French had approached within forty yards of their line; then they poured in a terrible discharge, and continued the fire with such deliberation and spirit, as could not fail to produce a very considerable effect. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louisbourg-grenadiers, where the attack was most warm. As he stood conspicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero<sup>14</sup>, who fell in the arms of victory, just as the enemy gave way. At this very instant, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honor of its own peculiar character. While the right pressed on with their

<sup>14</sup> When the fatal ball took place, General Wolfe, finding himself unable to stand, leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant, who sat down for that purpose. This officer seeing the French give way, exclaimed, "They run! they run!"

—"Who run?" cried the gallant Wolfe, with great eagerness. When the lieutenant replied, "The French."

—"What! (said he) do the cowards run already? then I die happy." So saying, the glorious youth expired.

bayonets,



bayonets, Brigadier Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the centre of the enemy: then the Highlanders, drawing their broad-swords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them with great slaughter into the town, and the works they had raised at the bridge of the river St. Charles. On the left and rear of the English, the action was not so violent. Some of the light infantry had thrown themselves into houses, where, being attacked, they defended themselves with great courage and resolution. Colonel Howe having taken post with two companies behind a small copse, sallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy, during this attack, and often drove them into heaps; while Brigadier Townshend advanced platoons against their front: so that the right wing of the French were totally prevented from executing their first intention. The Brigadier himself remained with Amherst's regiment, to support this disposition, and to over-awe a body of savages, posted opposite to the light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon the rear of the British army. General Wolfe being slain, and, at the same time, Mr. Monckton dangerously wounded at the head of Lascelles's regiment, where he distinguished himself with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved on Brigadier Townshend, who hastened to the centre, and finding the troops disordered in the pursuit, formed them again with all possible expedition. This necessary task was scarce performed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh men, appeared in the rear



B O O K

III.

1759.

of the English. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge as soon as he received intelligence that the British troops had gained the heights of Abraham, but did not come up in time to have any share in the battle. Mr. Townshend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this officer, who retired, at their approach, among woods and swamps, where General Townshend very wisely declined hazarding a precarious attack. He had already obtained a complete victory, taken a great number of French officers, and was possessed of a very advantageous situation, which it would have been imprudent to forego. The French general, M. de Montcalm, was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebec, from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to General Townshend, recommending the prisoners to that generous humanity by which the British nation is distinguished. His second in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an English ship, to which he had been conveyed. About one thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number of officers, and about five hundred were slain on the field of battle. The wreck of their army, after they had reinforced the garrison of Quebec, retired to Point-au-Tremble, from whence they proceeded to Jacques Quartiers, where they remained intrenched, until they were compelled by the severity of the weather to make the best of their way to Trois Rivières and Montreal. This important victory was obtained at the expense of fifty men killed, including nine



officers; and of about five hundred men wounded; but the death of General Wolfe was a national loss, universally lamented. He inherited from nature an animating fervor of sentiment, an intuitive perception, an extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. This noble warmth of disposition seldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the soul. Brave above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane; the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier: there was a sublimity in his genius, which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and action; had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would, without doubt, have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity.

§ XXVII. Immediately after the battle of Quebec, Admiral Saunders, who, together with his subordinates, Durell and Holmes, had all along cooperated heartily with the land-forces for the advantage of the service, sent up all the boats of the fleet, with artillery and ammunition; and on the seventeenth day of the month sailed up, with all the ships of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town, while the upper part should be assaulted by General Townshend. This gentleman had employed the time from the day of action in securing the camp with redoubts, in forming a military road for the

C H A P.

XI.

1759.



B O O K  
III.  
1759.

cannon, in drawing up the 'artillery, preparing batteries, and cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. On the seventeenth, before any battery could be finished, a flag of truce was sent from the town, with proposals of capitulation; which, being maturely considered by the General and Admiral, were accepted, and signed at eight next morning. They granted the more favorable terms, as the enemy continued to assemble in the rear of the British army; as the season was become wet, stormy, and cold; threatening the troops with sickness, and the fleet with accident, and as a considerable advantage would result from taking possession of the town while the walls were in a state of defence. What rendered the capitulation still more fortunate for the British general, was the information he afterwards received from deserters, that the enemy had rallied, and were re-enforced behind Cape Rouge, under the command of M. de Levi, arrived from Montreal for that purpose, with two regular battalions; and that M. de Bougainville, at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of provisions, was actually on his march to throw himself into the town on the eighteenth, that very morning on which it was surrendered. The place was not then completely invested, as the enemy had broke their bridge of boats, and posted detachments in very strong works, on the other side of the river St. Charles. The capitulation was no sooner ratified than the British forces took possession of Quebeck on the land-side, and guards were posted in different parts of the town, to preserve order and discipline:



at the same time, Captain Palliser, with a body of  
 seamen, entered the lower town, and took the same  
 precautions. Next day, about a thousand prisoners  
 were embarked on board transports, which proceed-  
 ed to France with the first opportunity. Mean while,  
 the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers,  
 to deliver up their arms, and take the oath of fidelity  
 to the English government. The death of Montcalm,  
 which was indeed an irreparable loss to France, in  
 all probability, overwhelmed the enemy with  
 consternation, and confounded all their councils;  
 otherwise we cannot account for the tame surrender  
 of Quebec to a handful of troops, even after the  
 victory they had obtained: for, although the place  
 was not regularly fortified on the land-side, and most  
 of the houses were in ruins, their walls and parapets  
 had not yet sustained the least damage: the besiegers  
 were hardly sufficient to complete the investiture:  
 a fresh army was assembled in the neighbourhood,  
 with which their communication continued open:  
 the season was so far advanced, that the British forces  
 in a little time must have been forced to desist by the  
 severity of the weather, and even retire with their  
 fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails  
 to freeze up the river St. Laurence.

CHAP.

XI.

1759.

§ XXVIII. Immediately after the action at the  
 falls of Montmorenci, General Wolfe had dis-  
 patched an officer to England, with a detail of that  
 disaster, written with such elegance and accuracy,  
 as would not have disgraced the pen of a Cæsar.  
 Though the public acquiesced in his conduct, they  
 were exceedingly mortified at his miscarriage; and



B O O K this mortification was the greater, as he seemed to  
 III. despair of being able to strike any other stroke of  
 1759. importance for the accomplishment of their hope,  
 which had aspired at the absolute conquest of  
 Canada. The first transports of their chagrin were  
 not yet subsided, when Colonel Hale arrived in  
 the ship Alcide, with an account of the victory  
 and surrender of Quebeck; which was immediately  
 communicated to the people in an extraordinary  
 gazette. The joy which this excited among the  
 populace rose in proportion to the despondence  
 which the former had produced: all was rapture  
 and riot; all was triumph and exultation, mingled  
 with the praise of the all-accomplished Wolfe,  
 which they exalted even to a ridiculous degree of  
 hyperbole. The King expressed his satisfaction, by  
 conferring the honor of knighthood upon Captain  
 Douglas, whose ship brought the first tidings of this  
 success; and gratified him and Colonel Hale with  
 considerable presents. A day of solemn thanksgiving  
 was appointed by proclamation through all the  
 dominions of Great-Britain. The city of London,  
 the universities, and many other corporations of the  
 kingdom, presented congratulatory addresses to his  
 Majesty. The parliament was no sooner assembled,  
 than the secretary of state, in the House of Commons,  
 expatiated upon the successes of the campaign, the  
 transcendant merit of the deceased General, the  
 conduct and courage of the Admirals and officers  
 who assisted in the conquest of Quebeck. In con-  
 sequence of this harangue, and the motion by  
 which it was succeeded, the House unanimously



resolved to present an address, desiring his Majesty would order a monument to be erected in Westminster-Abbey to the memory of Major-General Wolfe: at the same time, they passed another resolution, that the thanks of the House should be given to the surviving Generals and Admirals employed in the glorious and successful expedition to Quebeck. Testimonies of this kind, while they reflect honor upon the character of the nation, never fail to animate individuals to a spirited exertion of their talents in the service of the public. The people of England were so elevated by the astonishing success of this campaign, which was also prosperous on the continent of Europe, that far from expressing the least sense of the enormous burdens which they bore, they, with a spirit peculiar to the British nation, voluntarily raised large contributions, to purchase warm jackets, stockings, shoes, coats, and blankets, for the soldiers who were exposed to the rigors of an inclement sky in Germany and America. But they displayed a more noble proof of unrestrained benevolence extended even to foes. The French ministry, straitened in their finances, which were found scarce sufficient to maintain the war, had sacrificed their duty to their king, and every sentiment of compassion for his unhappy subjects, to a thirst of vengeance, and sanguinary views of ambition. They had withdrawn the usual allowance from their subjects who were detained prisoners in England; and those wretched creatures, amounting in number to near twenty thousand, were left to the mercy of those enemies whom their sovereign had taken such pains to

CHAP.

XI.

1759.



B O O K  
III.  
1759.

exasperate. The allowance with which they were indulged by the British government effectually secured them from the horrors of famine; but still they remained destitute of other conveniencies, and particularly exposed to the miseries of cold and nakedness. The generous English beheld these forlorn captives with sentiments of sympathy and compassion: they considered them as their fellow-creatures and brethren in humanity, and forgot their country while they beheld their distress. A considerable subscription was raised in their behalf; and in a few weeks they were completely clothed by the charity of their British benefactors. This beneficent exertion was certainly one of the noblest triumphs of the human mind, which even the most inveterate enemies of Great-Britain cannot but regard with reverence and admiration. The city of Quebec being reduced, together with great part of the circumjacent country, Brigadier Townshend, who had accepted his commission with the express proviso that he should return to England at the end of the campaign, left a garrison of five thousand effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of Brigadier Murray; and embarking with Admiral Saunders, arrived in Great-Britain about the beginning of winter. As for Brigadier Monckton, he was conveyed to New-York, where he happily recovered of his wound.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

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München



















Smollett, Tobias George, 1721-1771

The History Of England From The Revolution To The Death Of George The  
Second ; (Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.)

Bd.: 7

Basil (1793)

Brit. 648 n-7

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10282791-2

VD18 80025986